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CHAPTER 32

PHOENICIA AND PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION

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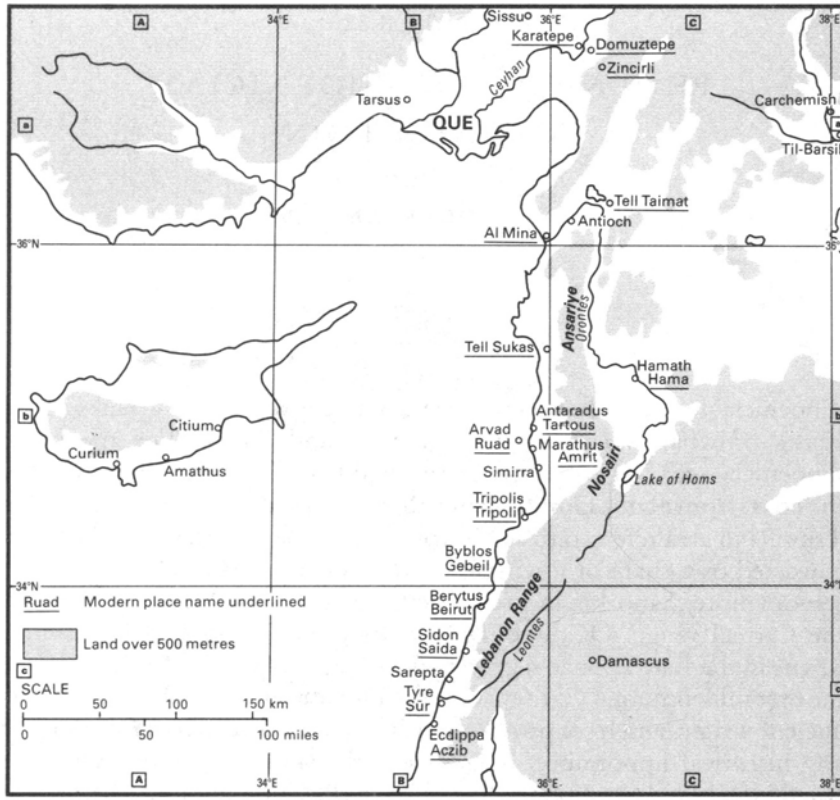
I. SETTING AND HISTORY

'Phoenicia' in the widest sense was the name given by the Greeks to the coasts of what is now Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. (For the name 'Phoenicia' see *CAH* II^3.2, 520.) In a narrower sense it was interpreted as the coast from about Dor in the south, northwards to about present-day Tripoli (an area referred to as Metropolitan Phoenicia in this chapter). It consisted of a chain of towns situated in a narrow coastal strip of land seldom more than 3 km in width backed by the Lebanon mountains and the Carmel range. Of these Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos, all flourishing towns in the Late Bronze Age, remained important throughout most of the first millennium B.C.; they were the Phoenician towns best known to ancient writers and have provided the bulk of Phoenician inscriptions of any historical importance. Together with Arados (modern Arvad or Ruad), the island town off the Syrian coast (Pls. Vol., pl. 129), these three issued the main Phoenician coinages during the fifth century. From these inscriptions and coins certain broad historical and cultural information may be gleaned. All other direct sources of Phoenician history have been lost; even the Phoenician inscriptions are not noted for the historical information they contain. Tyre at least kept historical records, written down probably in annalistic form. We gather from the Wen-Amun story that Byblos also had chronicles. Josephus, the Jewish historian of the first century A.D., made use of the Hellenistic historian Menander of Ephesus (*Contra Apionem*, 116ff; *Ant. Jud.* VIII.144; IX.283), who had derived from Tyrian chronicles a list of the kings of Tyre together with their individual lengths of reign and other details, some of which Josephus reproduced. It is not known whether the work of Dius, a Greek historian otherwise unknown who composed a 'History of the Phoenicians' to which Josephus briefly referred, was based on original sources or not. The Christian historian Eusebius quotes Philo of Byblos who had transmitted in Greek dress details of Phoenician religion from Sanchuniathon, the oldest (about 700 B.C.?) Phoenician writer whose



Map 6. Phoenicia.

name has been preserved.[1] The Bible is the only other source, but of course is indirect: Kings and Chronicles give accounts of the dealings of Hebrew royalty with Phoenician rulers, whilst the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel gloat over the downfall of Sidon and Tyre. Papyrus was certainly the material used for Phoenician records and communications, and, except for a few personal letters which have been preserved in the dry conditions of Egypt, has generally perished. The clay *bullae* carrying seal impressions and the imprints of the papyrus documents which they once sealed have been found in both Phoenicia and the western colonies.[2] Inscriptions on stone, pottery ostraca and clay, some seventy of which have been found in the Phoenician homeland, are mostly funerary and dedicatory, but they remain important sources for the

[1] C 9, 195, 212. [2] C 60, 57–60.

existence of individual rulers and of supplementary information, especially concerning religious practices and personal names.

Since Phoenicia was thought of by the Greeks as a group of individual city states rather than as a 'nation' or 'race' we gain nothing from them about either its ethnic composition or its territorial extent. Basically the population was descended from the coastal Canaanites of the Bronze Age; their language was descended from Canaanite; but the population may well have included more northerly Semitic groups, particularly Amorites and men of Ugarit who had moved southwards. A small admixture of Cypriots, Aegeans, and Sea Peoples is only to be expected from the facts of geography and commerce.

Byblos is the first city to provide primary evidence of the revival of the traditional Egyptian links which it had maintained in the second millennium. Statues of members of the Twenty-second dynasty (945–715), Shoshenq I (945–924), Osorkon I (924–889) and Osorkon II (874–850), found in the ruins of Byblos, were gifts from the pharaohs. Two of them are superinscribed in Phoenician by the local kings Abiba^{c}al and Eliba^{c}al.[3] There is also, on a separate slab, an inscription of a further king Shipit-ba^{c}al.[4] These three appear to have belonged to a dynasty headed by king Ahiram, whose sarcophagus, made for him by his son Ittoba^{c}al, has provided the earliest substantial inscription in Phoenician script, usually dated to the early part of the tenth century B.C. (Pls. Vol., pl. 136B). It is slightly predated perhaps by an inscribed bronze spatula from Byblos,[5] naming Azar-ba^{c}al, the earliest Phoenician known to us, and possibly royal. The decoration of Ahiram's sarcophagus itself dates from about three centuries earlier, and the inscription is written in the place of the erasure of an earlier inscription in Proto-Byblian[6] of which traces remain. Whilst this casts doubt on the claim of Ittoba^{c}al to have had the coffin made for his father, it does not alter the date of the inscription itself, whose epigraphy is firmly placed in about 1000 B.C.[7]

Sidon was the 'first-born of Canaan' (Gen. 10:15) and according to classical tradition was the founder of both Arvad and Tyre.[8] Admirably situated for the conduct of coastal trade, with harbours to north and south, Sidon was in a small plain of high fertility much noted by Arab geographers.[9] Its dominion at one stage extended into the Valley of Lebanon (Biqa^{c}) and to Galilee (Jdg. 18:7, 28). There has been much debate about both the primacy and territorial control of Sidon, especially because in both Homeric and Biblical terms 'Sidonians' appears synonymous, if not with Phoenicians as a whole, then certainly with more than the inhabitants of that city. This presupposes that at one period, perhaps

[3] A 15, nos. 5–6. [4] C 5, 108, fig. 34. [5] A 15 no. 3; C 26. [6] C 26.
[7] A 15, no. 1. [8] C 21, 130. [9] C 17.

from the reign of Ittoba^{c}al in the ninth century to Luli in the late eighth, Tyre and Sidon comprised a united kingdom, with the king of Sidon at the head.[10] Ittoba^{c}al (Ethba^{c}al) himself, for instance, whom I Kings 16: 31 designates the 'King of the Sidonians', appears as king of Tyre in Menander (Jos. *Ant. Jud.* VIII.324). Likewise Hirummu, named as king of Tyre in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727), can scarcely be other than Hiram, king of the Sidonians, to whom one of the Mouti Sinoas bronze bowls was dedicated.[11] Luli (Elulaios), according to Menander, ruled both Sidon and Akku, but is named by Sennacherib as ruling Tyre and Akku.[12] On the other hand, there is no doubt that in the time of Esarhaddon the kings of these two cities were different men.[13] We have too little information about the roles of these two cities to postulate their political relationship, but it seems likely that at some period they formed a joint state and acted in concert and without the implication of Byblos, Arvad, and others; that Sidon had either some kind of historical or formal precedence; and that Tyre dominated politically and commercially from about 800 to 500 B.C. If there is any truth in the notion that Sidon founded both Tyre and Arvad, both of which were flourishing in the Late Bronze Age, then it is a question of 'refoundation' only, perhaps after the depredations of the Sea Peoples; but it must be noted that it is a late tradition, born perhaps of inter-city rivalry. Nor is the commercial pre-eminence of Tyre necessarily to be deduced from the famous 'burden of Tyre' in Isaiah 23. Indications are that the original, the date of which is slightly later than that of the prophet himself who lived in the late eighth century, was composed about the destruction of Sidon probably in Esarhaddon's campaign, and later adapted to lament the fall of Tyre to Nebuchadrezzar.[14] It is also to this event that the prophecies of Ezekiel 27, with their fulsome profile of Tyre's trading network, essentially relate, though the dates of their original composition and interpolation, like that of the prophet himself, cause great difficulty.[15]

1. *Commerce*

The location of Tyre had many advantages; the island on which the old city was situated had natural defences and in time of siege could draw water from deep wells (Pls. Vol., pl. 130*a*).[16] There was abundance of water on the mainland opposite, and in addition there were fresh-water springs under the sea at many points, similar to those in the Bay of Shakka and off Arvad.[17] In fact these springs might well have given rise

[10] C 21, 133–4. [11] A 35 II, §§ 309, 326, 347. [12] C 52, 252, 261.
[13] C 52, 252, 261. [14] C 25. [15] C 3, 79–91. [16] C 14, 56–9. [17] C 3, 59.

to Tyre's conceit of itself as a seat of cosmic creation obliquely referred to by Ezekiel.

The Biblical evidence (I Ki. 7:13–47; II Chron. 2:3–16) makes clear that Tyrians were expert bronze workers, and in Homer (*Od.* xv.425) Sidon is *polychalkos*, rich in bronze. We have no knowledge of where these ores were obtained, but the coast of Syria and Palestine had an abundant metal supply in the Late Bronze Age and presumably it continued into the Iron Age together with, in the case of Phoenicia, the control of Cypriot resources.[18] Two Babylonian cuneiform documents from Uruk show that in about 550 B.C. iron from Lebanon and both bronze and iron from Yaman (Cyprus or beyond) were imported to Babylonia together with valuable blue-dyed wool and cheaper red and purple dyes. Tin of unspecified origin is also listed in these documents of Iddina-ahu, who was importing from Phoenicia and Egypt.[19] The joint trading expeditions of Hiram and Solomon to Ophir and Tarshish have already been discussed.[20]

From Mediterranean ports the Tyrians made shorter journeys to the ports on the coast of Cilicia, the land of Que. Since in later times both Tyre and Sidon are said in Assyrian inscriptions to have had alliances with kings of Que, Solomon's horse-trading connexions with it (I Ki. 10:28) were probably made within the framework of Phoenician enterprise in this area. Tyre, according to Ezekiel (27:14), obtained horses from Togarmah in Cilicia. One Cilician ruler, Kilamuwa of Zincirli (Sam'al), writing in Phoenician about 825 B.C., gives the names of four earlier kings, all with Phoenician names. About a century later at Karatepe in the Taurus hills the local Hittite king Azatiwatas saw fit to have a full Phoenician translation set up of his monumental inscription[21] in Hittite hieroglyphs. Some of the accompanying iconography is also Phoenician in character, as are the sculptured slabs of nearby Domuztepe. Both these sites lie above the Ceyhan river valley which gives access to the Meyemicil Pass of the Anti-Taurus. These and a few other minor Phoenician texts can only be explained by the existence of Phoenician entrepreneurs, if not colonists, in Cilicia.[22] Some of the pottery and trinkets from Zincirli have an unmistakably Phoenician cast. Pottery from Tarsus of about 1000 B.C. has many aspects of Cypro-Phoenician ware. Taken together with the fact that the inscriptions of the Cilician rulers after 730 B.C. are written in either Hittite or the Aramaic of north Syria, it is clear that the Phoenicianizing tendencies of the first quarter of the first millennium were due to Phoenician presence. Xenophon alone (*Anab.* 1.4.6) speaks of Phoenician colonies, on the eastern Cilician coast.

[18] C 29. [19] C 14, 100.

[20] For Ophir see *CAH* II[3].2, 526, 587, 594 and III[2].1, 479–80; for Tarshish see *CAH* II[3].2, 525–6, 768, and III[2].1, 479–80. [21] A 15, no. 26; C 36, 134–5. [22] C 36, 138–40.

Phoenicia's own chief natural resource was timber.[23] The cedars and junipers which clothed the Lebanon and the *berošim* of Senir (Anti-lebanon) were as sought after by the Assyrians in the first millennium B.C. (Pls. Vol. pl. 131*a*) as they had been imported by the Egyptians in the second. It was this timber which determined much of Phoenicia's history, gave her a fleet, involved her in international politics, trade, and colonization.

The centrepoint of this trade was probably Byblos, but the Babylonian Talmud (*Bekoroth* 5 76) names 'Arqath-Libna' as an important lumbering centre, and this is probably the Arkē of earlier documents, whose location is unknown. Although the forest reserve set up by the emperor Hadrian was in the northern Lebanon, it must not be assumed that in antiquity significant timber resources were not available further south. In the poetic imagination of Ezekiel (27:5–6), Tyre itself is likened to a ship made of timbers, not only of Lebanon and Senir but also of oaks of Bashan and *teʾaššurim* from Kittiyyim (Cyprus). However poetic, the prophet correctly emphasizes, like Theophrastus,[24] the highly specialized selection of various timbers for a single ship, a factor which would have involved Tyre, once her shipyards were established, in the timber trade itself, perhaps importing from both the deciduous woods of northern Syria and the coniferous forests of the Amanus and eastern Cilicia.

2. *Relations with Israel*

Subsequent Phoenician history was much involved with that of its Hebrew neighbours. With the division of the monarchy after Solomon into the rival states of Israel and Judah, its access to wide-ranging caravan routes was much curtailed and control of the Galilean cities offered by Solomon to Hiram was probably lost. The period of Ittobaʿal (887–856) in Tyre and the establishment of a triple alliance with Omri of Israel (or his son/co-regent Ahab) in 873 saw a return to better conditions. Jehoshaphat of Judah in partnership with Ahaziah of Israel, son of Ahab, reopened trade with Ophir from Eziongeber (I Ki. 22:48; II Chron. 20:35–6) and no doubt this created markets for Tyre. Phoenician influence inland soon reached its peak not only in the architecture of Samaria in Ahab's time but also at Ramat Raḥel in Judah, and elsewhere.[25] The marriage of Ahab to Jezebel, Ittobaʿal's daughter, brought with it the royal patronage of Phoenician cults in Samaria, and temples to Baʿal and Asherah were built in Jerusalem (I Ki. 16:32; II Ki. 10:21; 11:18). Despite the reported abhorrence of the Hebrews for these

[23] C 14, 140–208. [24] C 14, 157–8. [25] C 100.

cults and what appears to be a very ill-defined territorial border between Israel and Phoenicia, we are not informed of any hostility or friction until the revolt of Jehoash in Israel and Jehoiada in Jerusalem.[26] Significant though they are in themselves, these religious clashes were coloured by a shift in international politics.

The alliance of Tyre with Hazael of Aram–Damascus, who made war on Israel, was seen as traitorous (Amos 1:4). But Tyre was not slow to retain the security of the inland route to Arabia and the Red Sea which now passed east of the Jordan through territory annexed by Hazael from Israel. Moreover, Tyre became an important port for Damascus' trade (Ezek. 27:18). But the break in the relations between Phoenicia and Israel was only temporary; their mutual political interests resumed in the reigns of subsequent kings, Jeroboam, Menahem, Pekah, and Hoshea, either in joint opposition to Assyrian dominance or in support for Aram, as in the Syro-Ephraimite war, waged by Pekah and Rezin of Damascus against Judah.[27]

3. *Assyrian domination*

Although there had been some earlier contact between the Phoenician cities and the Assyrian kings, it was not until the time of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727) that Assyria asserted direct control. The earlier inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) and Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) indicate that certain seaboard cities, especially the more northerly ones, had acknowledged, and paid tribute to, the hegemony of Assyria. Among them Arvad, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal and emissaries of both Tyre and Sidon were invited to the dedication of his new royal palace at Calah (Nimrud) in 879 B.C.[28] Later, when Shalmaneser III mounted his campaign against the Syrian coalition led by Irkhuleni of Hamath and Adad-Idri of Damascus, some northern Phoenician cities – Byblos, Irqata, Arvad, Usanat, and Siannu – are expressly mentioned among the 'twelve kings of Hatti and the sea coast' allied with Irkhuleni who fought Shalmaneser at the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.).[29] Though the Sidonian king Ittobaʿal (Ethbaʿal) was at this time in alliance with Ahab, it is uncertain whether Sidon or Tyre was involved. As the thrust of Assyrian aggression was towards northern Syria it probably concerned the 'Hattic' coastal towns within the political sphere of Hama. Already in his first campaign in the west in 858 Shalmaneser had received tribute 'from the ships' of Tyre and Sidon, which are shown on the Balawat gates as leaving an island, probably Tyre (Pls. Vol., pl. 130*b*) and sailing to meet Shalmaneser's army on the coast.[30] It may be assumed that both Tyre and Sidon continued to pay

[26] C 21, 181. [27] C 21, 212–13. [28] C 37, 32. [29] See *CAH* III².1, 261, 393.
[30] C 21, 133–4.

this tribute to Shalmaneser, for he claims to 'spread the splendour of his lordship' over them for some years;[31] but he himself did not march on Tyre or Sidon until after his campaign against Hazael of Damascus in 841, to take tribute from Baʿali-ma-an-zeri of Tyre (Baʿalazor I), Ittobaʿal's successor. The Assyrian record of this campaign provides a valuable synchronism between Shalmaneser's eighteenth year (841) and the Baʿalezorus of Josephus.[32] A significant aspect of Shalmaneser's campaigns is the attention he paid to Arvad. Like Tiglath-pileser I he made short voyages to visit the island; his relations with its king, Matinu-baʿalu, were particularly close.

The following century saw little Assyrian activity against Phoenicia, but the usurpation of Tiglath-pileser III ushered in a new aggressive policy against the west, aiming to establish Assyrian administration and military presence to the borders of Egypt. In 738 B.C. Tiglath-pileser broke through to Hama and marched to the coast in order to punish the cities on the 'coast of the western sea'. Ushnu and Siannu, both cities situated within the political sphere of Ugarit some centuries earlier, as well as Simirra and Kashpuna, are mentioned, but there is no complete list. Thousands of inhabitants were exiled and replaced by Mesopotamians and probably at this point the cities of the north Syrian coast were organized into an Assyrian province centred on Simirra, which begins to be mentioned a number of times in documents of Tiglath-pileser and later. By 734 B.C. this province extended southwards to include Kashpuna, situated somewhere to the south of the mount *Sa-ú-a* (Gebel-ez-Zawiyé) east of Tripoli.

Tiglath-pileser's later campaigns in the west (734–732) were principally aimed at Philistia and Damascus, and particularly against a new anti-Assyrian coalition led by Rezin of Damascus and joined by Ashkelon. A fragmentary inscription found at Nimrud makes it quite clear that Hiram II of Tyre (*c.* 739 B.C.) was part of this coalition. Tiglath-pileser claims the destruction of great towns in Phoenicia, of which only the name of Mahalib (Ahlab) north of Tyre survives, and to have taken garments and personnel as booty. But Hiram's acknowledgement of Assyrian overlordship appears to have saved his kingdom. A further Nimrud text, probably relating the same campaign against Philistia, describes the surrender of a town 'in the midst of the sea', which was later entrusted to the town governor of Simirra (whom Tiglath-pileser describes as 'my official'). Thus the island town was probably nearby Arvad, whose king Matan-baʿal had joined the kings of North Syria against Tiglath-pileser, though he, like Hiram, had paid tribute and rendered formal submission.

[31] C 30, 39–40. [32] C 3, 294, 322–3.

The Assyrians do not appear to have set up the southern Phoenician cities into a province at this point. Sidon is not mentioned at all, probably because it was incorporated into the Tyrian kingdom; but towards both Tyre and Sidon the Assyrians conducted themselves with leniency, though they placed Assyrian officials in both cities, imposed a tax on the felling of cedar trees in Lebanon, and placed restrictions on their overseas timber trade. Hiram II is no longer mentioned amongst the Phoenician vassal kings paying tribute to Assyria drawn up in Tiglath-pileser's seventeenth year. Sibitti-bel of Byblos (Shipit-ba^{c}al II) and Matan-ba^{c}al of Arvad are listed, but after a special messenger had been sent to Tyre a tribute of 150 talents of gold was paid by Metenna of Tyre (Matan II, *c.* 730 B.C.). This massive tribute has been taken to indicate that the new king owed his elevation to Assyrian intervention. Indeed the terms of Nimrud letter XIII, in which Qurdi-Ashur-lamur,[33] the governor of Simirra, informs the king, 'In the palace of Tyre verily all is well, in the palace which is in Ushshe', suggest perhaps Assyrian interference in the dynastic succession; this is the first naming of the mainland part of Tyre (as distinct from the Palaetyrus, the island city) which in later Assyrian documents is called Ushu.

Important information repeated by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* IX.283–7) deals with the war against Tyre in the reign of Elulaios, who appears to have ascended the throne in about 728 B.C., a year or so before Tiglath-pileser's death.[34] He is the Luli of Assyrian records, who, after a turbulent history which covered the reigns of Shalmaneser V and Sargon (721–705), was finally forced by Sennacherib to flee Phoenicia and seek refuge in Citium, though before this Luli's relationship with Assyria seems to have improved. Sargon must have lifted the siege of Tyre begun by Shalmaneser V in 724 B.C.[35] Sargon's only mention of Tyre is one in which he claims to have pleased both Tyre and Que by reducing Ionian piracy. It gives an important counterpoint to theories that present Assyrians as hindering Phoenician trade. The scene of Luli's departure, in which he is lowered from the quay at Tyre into the last ship of the departing Phoenician fleet, is recorded in the reliefs of the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh (Pls. Vol., pl. 131*b*).[36] Having taken Sidon and Bit-zitti (^{c}Ain ez-Zeitun?), Sarepta, Mahalib, Ushu, Ecdippa (Akhziv), and Akku, Sennacherib placed Tabalu on the throne in Sidon and later accepted rich gifts in tribute from him. Some time before the death of Sennacherib, Abdi-milkutti succeeded Tabalu and remained loyal to his overlord, though not to his successor. Abdi-milkutti's revolt from Esarhaddon brought about severe retribution. He was executed in 677 and Sidon was destroyed. The treasures of his palaces were carried off to

[33] C 21, 233–4. [34] C 21, 220–8. [35] C 21, 239. [36] C 5, fig. 51.

Assyria and a 'Fortress of Esarhaddon', probably with a garrison and small population transported from Assyria, was established in the vicinity of the city. In a second campaign against Phoenicia in 671, Esarhaddon celebrated his victory over Baʿalu of Tyre (Baʿal I) by erecting commemorative stelae at the Nahr-el-Kelb, north of Beirut, Zincirli, and Til-Barsib in north-west Syria. In these he celebrated also his victory over Taharqa of Egypt,[37] for the Egyptians had attempted to counter the Assyrian advance onto the coast by forming alliances with Phoenician rulers. Clearly also Esarhaddon intended to break once and for all the alliance between Abdi-milkutti and Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sissu, places in Cilicia. For good measure limits on trade north of Byblos were imposed by his later treaty with Baʿalu of Tyre.

Ashurbanipal continued to claim the vassalage of Tyre, Byblos, and Arvad. His inscriptions mention a further campaign against Egypt as well as against Baʿalu, though in a doubtful chronological framework.[38] Again Tyre appears to have come out of it fairly well, and the Assyrian king returned to Baʿalu his son Iaki-milki, whom he had taken hostage. With the Babylonians taking over the role of Assyrian aggression, the cities of Phoenicia once more were caught in the rivalry between Egypt and Mesopotamia. Against the visitations of Nebuchadrezzar to Palestine and Phoenicia in 597 B.C. and the long campaign of 588–573 which included the siege of Tyre in 587, the pharaohs Psammetichus II and Apries brought down retaliatory raids in 591 and 588 respectively on the Babylonian garrisons and their Phoenician vassals. Whereas the Babylonians held the upper hand on land, it is certain that they could not counter the offensive of the Egyptian navy. According to Diodorus (I.68.1), Apries sent large land and sea forces against Cyprus and Phoenicia, took Sidon and induced the other Phoenician cities to side with him. Herodotus (II.161.2) merely records that the pharaoh led his army against Sidon and fought Tyre at sea.

4. *Relations with Egypt*

The weakness of Egypt during the Twenty-first Dynasty allowed both Hiram I and Solomon unparalleled freedom in building their commercial empire, even in Egypt's traditional Red Sea preserves. A brief attempt to reassert control came under Shoshenq I (945–924), founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty, who invaded Palestine and Syria during the reign of Balbazer of Tyre, son of Hiram (955–919). Although Shoshenq portrays himself in the reliefs of his Karnak temple as 'smiting the princes of all the lands of Fnḫ-w', his invasion made no lasting changes except perhaps at Byblos, where his statue and that of his son

[37] A 44, 302b; C 21, 277–8. See below, pp. 699–700 and 724–6.

[38] A 44, 295–6; C 21, 288–94.

Osorkon I were erected. However, it is difficult to interpret the inscriptions of Abiba^{c}al and Eliba^{c}al written on these statues in any detailed political sense[39] or to assume that Shoshenq renewed political and commercial ties with Byblos to counter the Phoenician leadership assumed by Tyre.[40] During the three centuries following this feeble 'revival' of interest in Phoenicia, Egypt remained unable to counter the Assyrian advance into Philistia and to the 'Brook of Egypt' (Wadi el-Arish).

The campaigns of Necho in 609–605 B.C. briefly restored Egyptian suzerainty over Palestine and Phoenicia but his final defeat by Nebuchadrezzar at Carchemish and the rise of the Persian empire ushered in a new era for the West. Meanwhile Egypt under Necho (610–595) and his successors Psammetichus II (595–589), Apries (589–570) and Amasis (570–526) had turned some of her trading interests towards other Mediterranean lands and seems to have fostered the growth of communities of foreigners in her own towns. Already during the Eighteenth Dynasty Canaanite shipwrights from the Phoenician coast had been settled in a district of Memphis called *Prw-nfr*, where the cults of Ba^{c}al and Astarte were maintained by priests from the homeland.[41] Phoenicians probably continued to work the Memphis shipyards in the Late Kingdom, when 'Ba^{c}al of Memphis' is mentioned in Twenty-fifth Dynasty documents.[42] Herodotus (II.112) encountered a 'Tyrian camp' there. Its temple of 'Proteus' is most likely that of Ba^{c}al himself and in its precinct stood a temple of 'foreign Aphrodite' – certainly Astarte. Herodotus does not state whether the resident Tyrians were engaged in ship-building, but the fact that pharaoh Necho invited the Phoenicians to circumnavigate Africa (Hdt. IV.42) must surely mean that they had an arsenal to hand in Egypt.[43] The triremes which Necho had built before his expedition to Syria in 609 B.C. (Hdt. II.159) may also be attributed to Phoenician shipyards. It seems that Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I.16.76) was correct in regarding the trireme as a Phoenician invention,[44] though certainly the Greeks improved it in lightness and speed. Warships equipped with rams and two banks of oars are already shown in Sennacherib's relief from Nineveh depicting the flight of Luli, and in a wall-painting from Til-Barsib of about 730 B.C. Although there is no firm evidence that Phoenicians added the third bank of oars, the historical circumstances and terracotta models from Egypt strongly suggest it.[45]

The cultural impact of the Egyptians on the Canaanites and Phoenicians had always been formative, especially in art and religion. Astarte,

[39] C 23, 12–13. [40] C 21, 121.
[41] C 19; C 21, 372–3. [42] C 21, 485–90. See below, pp. 720f.
[43] C 379, 7–16. See below, p. 723. [44] C 11. [45] C 12.

for instance, often appears in the dress of Isis in Phoenician and Punic art. One of the few Phoenician inscriptions from Egypt is a dedication to Ashtart on a statuette of Isis. In the early fourth century the stela of Yehwmilk depicts the 'Mistress of Byblos' as Hathor[46] and in the late third century a shrine from Memphis itself depicts Isis-Astarte enthroned with Phoenician priests in attendance.[47] The cult of Astarte at Byblos was already Egyptianized as a Hathor cult in the second millennium,[48] but it was probably not until after 600 B.C. that major developments of cult syncretisms took place. The locating of part of the Osiris legend at Byblos and its fusion with the local cult of Tammuz-Adonis, about whom we know nothing at all from Phoenician sources (since neither is mentioned), appear as part of this 'developed' theology. Theophoric personal names incorporating Isis, Osiris, Horus and Bastet also entered Phoenician–Punic usage no earlier than the fifth century.[49] But in another aspect Egyptian influence begins somewhat earlier. Tubular amulet cases containing pseudo-Egyptian magical texts[50] as well as medallions, scarabs, and other Egyptian-like talismans[51] were used by Phoenicians before 700 B.C., with their popularity at its maximum in the fifth–fourth centuries.[52] Significant too is their adoption at varying times of the Egyptian *naos* shrine,[53] the Egyptian altar, the *cavetto* cornice (in architecture), and the anthropoid sarcophagus.[54] By contrast to this latterday Egyptianism, such fragments of Phoenician cosmology as have been preserved by Philo of Byblos from the works of Sanchuniathon of Tyre and Mochus of Sidon, though much transformed by Greek dress, are greatly influenced by the cosmologies of Memphis and Hermopolis, in terms which appear characteristic of the Middle Kingdom and therefore must preserve Egyptian ideas about creation current in the intellectual circles of Phoenicia in Canaanite times.[55]

II. ARCHAEOLOGY, ARTS, AND CRAFTS

It is only recently that an outline of the development of pottery in Phoenicia has been recognized.[56] This is largely based on material from a deep stratigraphic sounding at Tyre,[57] excavations at Sarepta (modern Sarafand on the coast south of Sidon),[58] the partial publication of pottery from a large necropolis at Akhziv (Phoenician Ecdippa, between Tyre and Akku), and of material from some of the tombs excavated at Khaldeh (Phoenician Haldua) immediately south of Beirut.[59] There is, in addition, a considerable amount of pottery, catalogued but not scientifi-

[46] C 23, 19; C 34, 64. [47] C 8. [48] C 34, 63–6. [49] C 34, 78. [50] C 32.
[51] C 15; C 24. [52] C 15. [53] C 12; C 34, 76–7. [54] C 23, 19. [55] C 1, 195–6.
[56] C 41, 617–20; C 44, table 8A. [57] C 44. [58] C 41; C 65; C 93.
[59] C 63, 58–63, figs. A, B; C 92; C 98.

cally excavated from tombs and burial caves at Qrayeh and Tambourit[60] in the vicinity of Sidon, from Qasmieh, Joya, Khirbet Selim[61] near Tyre, and at Tell er-Reshidiyeh, south of Tyre.[62] There is a little Iron Age material from Tell Abu Hawam and Athlit, north and south respectively of Haifa, and tomb groups from Mt Carmel itself.[63] Much less is known from the northern coast of metropolitan Phoenicia: unpublished Iron Age tombs from Byblos, pottery from Sheikh Zenad 40 km north of Tripoli, and in Syria some Iron Age material from Tell ᶜArqa,[64] and Amrit itself.[65]

Thus it may rightly be claimed that the main Phoenician towns are archaeologically unknown to us, apart from a few early soundings in Sidon and recent limited research at Tyre. Excavations at Tell el-Fukhar, ancient Akku,[66] have so far not yielded rich Iron Age strata though there is some typical Phoenician ware of the later Iron Age. Material from the tell at Akhziv remains unpublished. Botrys, modern Batrun, founded by Ittobaᶜal (Jos. *Jud. Ant.* VIII.324), Berytus (Beirut) and several sites equated with towns listed in the Assyrian annals remain unexplored. But what is at present known of Phoenician culture from discoveries in metropolitan Phoenicia gives a definite pottery profile, whose impact we can detect with confidence upon neighbouring Palestine and Cyprus.[67] The bulk of it, though, dates from the middle period of the Iron Age (*c.* 850–600 B.C.). The pottery of Iron Age I (1050–850 B.C.) is little known and that of the later Iron Age (Persian period) scarcely known at all north of Shiqmona on the Haifa coast.[68] An even greater problem surrounds the sequence from the Late Bronze Age to Iron I, for although there is plenty of Mycenaean ware from the Lebanon, especially from Sidon, the local ceramics of the late second millennium are poorly known and the stratigraphy at Tyre, Sarafand, and Akku (the only stratified sites) does not disclose any destruction levels such as may be equated with the coming of the Sea Peoples or the 'Dark Age' elsewhere on the coast.

Clearly the beginning of the Iron Age saw the introduction of a very simple bichrome painted style of pottery in Phoenicia, using two colours on a plain ground or pale slip. The three chief forms are globular flasks with round mouths, small 'pilgrim flasks' and tall-necked jugs with strainer side-spouts, not unlike the well-known Philistine 'beer jugs' from further south.[69] These are widely represented in Phoenicia and Palestine.[70] The tradition of these round-mouth flasks, with many variables, was long-lasting, and their occurrence, albeit in a developed

[60] C 54; C 99. [61] C 54. [62] C 87. [63] C 78. [64] C 105.
[65] Unpublished. [66] C 67, 23–6. [67] C 39, 271. [68] C 71.
[69] C 39, figs. 280, 282; C 65, 47–50.
[70] At Khaldeh; at Tyre (C 48, pl. 29, 3; C 54, 148–50; C 98, nos. 49, 57; C 111, figs. 24, 25, 27, 28); at Dor (C 72, 42); at Beth-shan (C 39, 304, no. 11; C 90, 107, fig. 476, 24; C 101, 60–2); at Tell Qasile (C 101, 61); at Lapethos, Salamis, and Kaloriziki in Cyprus (C 478, pl. 28; C 48A, 37).

form, alongside Greek pottery in tomb 7 at Amathus in Cyprus shows that they continued until about 750 B.C. The round-mouth flasks in the earliest Akhziv tombs can be placed mid-way in their development, about 900 B.C. But the upper date for the beginning of the typical shapes of Phoenician Iron I pottery is confirmed by their cross-referencing with Philistine wares in the cist graves and stratum XI at Tel Zeror,[71] inland from Haifa, where a date in the early tenth century is the very latest which could be assigned. It is interesting to note also that here, as at Akhziv and Khaldeh, the earliest tombs were stone-built cists with individual burials, a tradition perhaps carried over from the Late Bronze Age tombs at Tell Abu Hawam.[72] Almost all of the homeland Phoenician tombs are dug chamber tombs of the later Iron Age (Iron II), used for collective burials, often containing cremations as well as burials 'laid out'. For instance at Tell er-Reshidiyeh, about 7 km south of Tyre, three chamber tombs were found, two of which were provided with rock-cut benches around the walls. In one of these bodies had been laid out with offerings, but in the other and in the third tomb, which had no benches, the burials consisted of jars containing bones, some merely rotted, others superficially incinerated. All the urns in question belonged to Cypriot White Painted IV or Black-on-Red IV or were local copies, which would date all three chambers to about 650 B.C. Since cremation appears already in the Late Bronze Age at Kaloriziki (Curium) in Cyprus,[73] it cannot be claimed as a 'Phoenician' rite exclusively, but the use of cremation and inhumation together, often in the same tomb, is characteristic of Phoenician practice. Simpler burials at Azor[74] and at southern Palestinian coastal sites[75] consisted of 'crater' urns of cremated bones buried in shallow graves under small 'dolmens' of loose stones. It must be pointed out that the crater shape (in bichrome as well as other fabrics), like the strainer-spouted jug, stem from an Aegean rather than a Syro-Palestinian pottery tradition.

The tenth century saw the beginning of a new pottery in the Levant, whose origins can now fairly safely be placed in Phoenicia. This is 'Black-on-Red' ware of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition classification,[76] long believed to be Cypriot (and indeed it must also have been made in Cyprus), but equally common in Phoenicia and Palestine. Its main features are its bright orange-red slip, polished or (more rarely) burnished, on which groups of closely set concentric circles and encircling lines are painted in matt black. Certain stratigraphic contexts in Palestine show that bowls of this ware became current in the tenth century B.C.[77]

[71] C 89. [72] C 40, 93–4. [73] C 47B, 21. [74] C 68.

[75] W. Culican, 'The graves at Tell er-Reqeish', *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* II.2 (1973) 66–105. [76] C 48A, 32–6; C 74A, 68–73.

[77] Hazor Xa, Tell Abu Hawam III, and Tell Mevorakh VII (C 101, 52–61).

The small neck-ridge juglets, a popular and widespread shape initiated in this ware, also began at this same time and are common on northern sites in Palestine and in Phoenicia.[78] They remain current to the middle of the eighth century, a few reaching Egypt, Hama on the Orontes, Al Mina in Syria, and the island of Rhodes.[79] At present neither the clay nor pigments of Black-on-Red ware from Cyprus help to separate it from that of Palestine–Phoenicia;[80] in both areas there is a range of minor variables in clay and treatment. It is not only of course because a significant number of examples are known there that Phoenicia must be considered the homeland; the shapes of Black-on-Red vessels relate predominantly to those of other types of contemporary Phoenician pottery rather than to any other group. Shapes taken from Cypro-Geometric pottery are relatively few. A closely related Black-on-Red style appears at Tarsus in Cilicia about 1000 B.C.[81]

Even more distinctively Phoenician is the ware classified by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition as 'Red-Slip' ware, Red-Slip I (III) and II (IV)[82] being part of the later phase of the Cypriot Iron Age. This is a tradition of jugs, craters, and bowls of pinkish orange clay with a crimson-red slip, burnished on the wheel or by hand with vertical or horizontal strokes. Only very rarely is it painted. Quantities of it have been found at Akhziv, Sarepta, and Byblos, Khirbet Selim,[83] and other sites in south Lebanon. Since by far the finest examples come from clandestine finds in the Sidon region (now in private collections), there can be no doubt about the definition of the 'metropolitan' Red-Slip ware and its separation from other contemporary tradition of red-slipped ware in the early Iron Age of the Levant. In inland Palestine, at Ashdod in the south and at Hama and the Turkish Hatay sites in the north, as well as at Tarsus, the red-slipped and burnished pottery of the Iron I–II periods is manifest in different styles: none contains the jug shapes, the flask with disc-top and the piriform jug with narrow trefoil mouth characteristic of the metropolitan Red-Slip repertoire. At Hama red-slipped wares made their appearance in the ninth century and continued down to the destruction of the town by Sargon in 720 B.C., and indeed Hama-type red-slip extends as far southwards as Tell Kazel (Iron II).[84] But it must not be connected with the Red-Slip of Al Mina, for here, at the mouth of the Orontes, an enclave from the central Phoenician towns was established along with Cypriots and Greeks, a mixed emporium in a foreign environment.[85]

[78] In tomb 32 at Tell en-Naṣbeh. Beth-shan, Tell 'Amal, Megiddo (C 101, 59–60), Akhziv (C 63, fig. Aj–l; C 92, pl. 38, nos. 16, 17), Khaldeh (unpublished), and other sites (C 54, 142–5).

[79] C 74A, 240–69. [80] C 48, 88; C 101, 52–7. [81] C 76, 50, 93–4.

[82] C 65, 55, figs. 7–10; C 74A, 80–1, figs. 37, 43.

[83] C 39, nos. 292–3; C 41, 577–83, pls. 34–7; C 53, 132–6; C 178.

[84] C 70; C 97, 84–5. [85] C 51, 39–44; C 104.

The Phoenician craft fullest attested by ancient sources is the making of purple dye.[86] Though there is no purple compound as such in the glands of the *murex* and *thaisidae* sea-snails, careful extraction of the hypobranchial glands, oxidization and exposure to light produced from a virtually colourless glandular fluid a whole range of dyes from light green to blue, purplish red, and deep purple.[87] The process the Phoenicians employed, as well as the precise colour of 'Tyrian purple', are both open to question, but precise control of colour as well as techniques of double-dyeing were the main Phoenician speciality. Pliny (*HN* IX.62.135) rather obscurely described the best type of Tyrian purple as 'the colour of clotted blood, dark by reflected light and brilliant by transmitted light'. It is not known if they could make these dyes mordant. The dyeworks demanded intense labour: the extraction of glands best taken from live snails was painstaking, and the dye when ready had to be used immediately: it could not be stored. It was expensive, used a lot of salt and other materials and although the more useful *murex trunculus* prefers a shallow water habitat, the *murex brandaris*, which was also used, prefers depths from 10–15 m. Both shells were commonly available, and mounds of them have been reported in the vicinity of Sidon and Tyre. In the west Mediterranean and Atlantic the superior *purpura haemastoma* was used.[88] The art of extracting dye from these shells was known to other ancient peoples. The Phoenicians, apart from their willingness to organize a tedious and malodorous industry, had perhaps discovered simple chemical means of stabilizing the various shades and seem to have invented, according to Pliny, a technique for double-dyeing the wool. After dyeing, the wool was made up into cloth and garments, both much in demand and mentioned in the lists of tribute taken from Phoenicia by the Assyrian monarchs. Dyed linen was amongst the commodities traded by Idinna-aḫu.[89] Whether Phoenicia grew flax or acted as middleman for Egyptian linen garments is not known.

The Phoenician craft best represented by archaeological discoveries is that of carving ivory for the making of toilet articles, furniture panels, and even harness fittings (Pls. Vol., pl. 132). Here, as in other luxury arts, it is difficult to sort out homeland Phoenician work from that of 'Syrian' workshops and products which may have been produced by Phoenicians resident in other Levantine centres. By style they may be divided fairly distinctly into an earlier 'Syrian' group, which draws its inspiration from Hurrian and Aramaean motifs, and a later group which includes many Egyptian-derived and Canaanite themes and specializes in decorating the

[86] C 14, 98–103; C 82. [87] C 43. [88] C 43. [89] C 14, 99, 101.

ivories with coloured inlay.[90] This group is certainly Phoenician; whilst it overlaps the work of the 'Syrian' schools, it has a more southerly distribution and includes a small number from Tyre, Sarepta, and Byblos,[91] the only early carved ivories found in Phoenicia itself. In many respects the ivories of the Phoenician school are the descendants of Canaanite ivory work of the Late Bronze Age, such as the 'Megiddo ivories'. In fact a seventh-century ivory exported to Samos has had the same treatment as a thirteenth-century Canaanite ivory from Megiddo.[92] Since the 'Syrian' school has no such clear antecedents, and since at Nimrud and Gordium products of both schools occur together, and since furthermore the distribution in Syria of both schools overlaps,[93] it is possible that Phoenicians were the originators of both groups. On the whole, however, the 'Syrian' products have an earlier and more northerly distribution in the Near East. The firmest date for them is from Hasanlu in north-west Iran, where ivories were found in a citadel burnt down by the Urartians in the late ninth century.[94] Most relevant comparisons with other forms of north Syrian and Neo-Hittite art suggest that the floruit of the 'Syrian' workshops was from the mid-ninth to the late eighth century. By contrast 'Phoenician' ivories occur in contexts dated later than the last quarter of the eighth century,[95] though regrettably the largest group, found at Samaria[96] and once attributed to Ahab's 'ivory house' there, cannot be stratigraphically dated. The wealth of 'Phoenician' ivories from Salamis Tomb 79 is to be dated to about 700 B.C., and includes items like ivory fittings for furniture[97] and ivory 'candelabra',[98] which are uniquely Phoenician (cf. Pls. Vol., pls. 204–5). Apart from these two major groups, other contemporary carved ivories from Near Eastern sites are Assyrian and occasionally even Iranian and Urartian in style. To what degree these are the products of either 'Syrian' or 'Phoenician' workshops or itinerant craftsmen must remain doubtful, especially in view of the difficulty of attributing even the main groups to any one individual centre, though some of the 'Syrian' group seem to have come from the region of Zincirli in eastern Cilicia.[99] Whilst artistically the majority of the Phoenician pieces are stiff and 'hieratic', often symmetrical in composition after the Egyptian manner, their technical quality and decorative effect seem superior to Syrian work, especially in the highly sophisticated ajouré fretwork as seen on a panel from Gordium, and the effective use of inlay as instanced in the lion-and-negro-in-a-thicket panel from Nimrud,[100] itself a remarkable naturalistic departure from the often dull schematization of the Phoenician school.

[90] A 137; C 45; C 109. [91] C 110. [92] C 73, 92–4, fig. 26. [93] C 110.
[94] C 110. [95] C 110. [96] C 59. [97] C 85A III, pl. 77.
[98] C 85A III, 41, 49, pl. 54–5. [99] C 109. [100] A 137, 140–1; C 113.

Though we have but few surviving examples, the art of ivory carving certainly continued in Phoenicia down to the Persian period, with branches appearing in Carthage, producing a group of ivory caryatid figures[101] and some carved ornaments at Tharros.[102] South Spain seems to have had a somewhat distinctive ivory carving workshop and to have shared with Carthage a tradition of ivory engraving (mainly on combs) very different from anything yet known in the east.[103]

Metalwork poses a problem very similar to that of ivories. The tradition of late Canaanite work, as instanced in the cauldrons of Zarethan (Tell es-Saʿidiyeh)[104] and the four-sided wheeled cauldron-stands from Cyprus, is likely to have continued into the Iron Age; cauldrons were found together with 'Phoenician' decorated bronze bowls in the palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud by Layard in 1849 (Pls. Vol., pl. 133*a–b*),[105] and the wheeled cauldron-stands in Phoenician style survived in Crete well into the first millennium.[106] Tripod stands (for cauldrons) made of iron rods with bronze fittings seem to have been made in both Phoenicia and Cyprus in the Iron Age, and one from Nimrud carries an Aramaic inscription.[107] The decorated bowls from Nimrud also carry letters in Phoenician and Aramaic,[108] probably representing the names of their owners before they were carried off as booty or tribute to Assyria. A silver Phoenician bowl from the Bernardini tomb in Praeneste is inscribed with the owner's name in Phoenician: Eshmunazer ben Asto.[109] Thus there can be no doubt that some of these bowls circulated amongst Phoenicians, and there is much artistic evidence that they manufactured some of them. But the problem of their involvement in the making and distributing of a whole group of bronzes stylistically aligned with the sculptures of Aramaean and Neo-Hittite states such as Tell Halaf, Zincirli, and Sakçegözü (and hence usually called 'North Syrian'), remains obscure.[110] Bronzework attributed to these workshops comes mainly from Nimrud, the Mount Ida cave in Crete (Pls. Vol., pls. 277–8), the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, Delphi and Olympia in Greece, the tombs of Praeneste and Vulci in Etruria, and the shrine at Satricum in Latium.[111] Though it is not homogeneous it has features in common, particularly the high repoussé, and certain links with Assyrian and Urartian metal styles: it also presents some similarities to the 'Syrian' group of ivories. Only one piece has been found in Syria, a harness head-piece from Tell Tainat near Antioch.[112] None of it is inscribed. Amongst the bronze bowls found at Nimrud there is a group in a quite different style, with rather flat

[101] C 4 11, pls. 73–5; C 49. [102] C 107. [103] C 279; C 300. [104] A 133.
[105] C 88. [106] C 51, 64–6. [107] C 45, 48; C 46. [108] C 46. [109] C 5, 107–8.
[110] C 51. [111] C 112, 151. [112] C 112, 29; cf. C 45, 101.

engraved designs, often minuscule and widely spaced and incorporating Egyptian religious motifs. Similar bowls come from the Idaean cave,[113] from Athens,[114] and from Iran.[115] These are Phoenician products and although in general the Syrian-type metalwork has an earlier diffusion in the Aegean than most 'Phoenician' types of bowl, there is at present no reason why the Nimrud type of the latter cannot be contemporary with it. In fact a bowl from Calabria, because of its Egyptianisms certainly to be classed as Phoenician, is of early to mid-eighth century date,[116] and little 'Syrian'-type metalwork in Crete, Greece, or Italy is demonstrably earlier. Phoenician bowls elsewhere appear to span the late ninth- to mid-seventh-century period: the two main finds at Nimrud and at Idalium in Cyprus[117] probably represent 'collections' of bowls representative of much of this time span. Further west, some of the bowls found in Italy form a distinctive group, connected with two in Cyprus but not represented elsewhere:[118] both their context and style tie them down to the mid-seventh century, and there are points to suggest that some of them may have been made in Italy by a workshop established there. So complex are the inter-relationships of Oriental metalwork in the Levant and Mediterranean during this period that the problem of attributions may never be solved. There is, after all, the likelihood that tinkers of varied schools and origins sat down in the same bazaar and hammered out themes ancient and modern side by side. We have the same problem with the ivories. However, there is certainly an earlier 'Syrian' polarity and a later 'Phoenician' one, and the shift to the Phoenician south of ivory and metalwork export might be because of Sargon's devastation of the north Syrian cities compared with the more lenient Assyrian attitude to Phoenicia;[119] but this argument does not warrant putting the *origins* of Phoenician style at so late a date. Here, though it is in fact of later date (about 700 B.C.), the bronzework from Tomb 79 at Salamis plays a crucial, though not decisive, part, for it has the main elements of 'Syrian' style and technique and yet incorporates many Egyptian details[120] (Pls. Vol., pl. 203), which Syrian work does not. Does it represent a late version of the Tyrian equivalent to Syrian work, a more southerly style which was not exported until after the market for the latter had declined – and then only in small amounts – to Cyprus and Rhodes?[121]

No such variety of doubts surrounds another class. Bronze and silver piriform jugs with palmette-shaped lower handle-attachments are certainly Phoenician and provide the prototypes for this shape in Red-Slip

[113] C 80, pls. 6, 7. [114] C 74, 18. [115] C 62. [116] C 51, fig. 218.

[117] A 133; C 74; C 87A; cf. Pls. Vol., pl. 210.

[118] L. Pareti, *La tomba Regolini-Galassi*, nos. 321–4 (Rome, 1947); I. Ström, *Problems Concerning the Origins and Development of Etruscan Orientalizing Style* (Odense, 1971) 123–7.

[119] C 110. [120] C 85A III, pls. 267–79. [121] C 110.

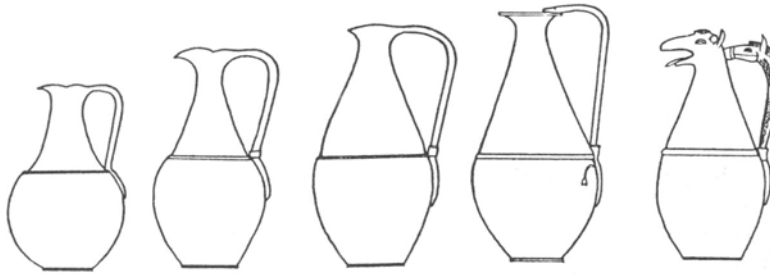


Fig. 20. Types of Phoenician piriform jugs. (After C 77, 163, figs. 1–5.)

II (IV) pottery (Fig. 20). Even though there are only two examples in the east (Sidon and Tamassus) eked out by pottery versions covered with tin-foil to simulate the originals (Salamis and Trikomo, Cyprus), their contexts in Etruria, and especially in Spain, leave no doubts about their origin: the palmettes which form the lower handle-attachments are specifically Phoenician, and in the rich Orientalizing tombs at Praeneste, Caere, and Pontecagnano they were found together with Phoenician bowls or other imported objects. At Nimrud, Samos, and Carthage, copies in ivory have been found, in mid-seventh century contexts at the two latter places. These jugs provided an important stimulus for Italian metal jugs and were widely imitated in Etruscan *bucchero*. Bronze dishes with lotus-topped handles were another Phoenician type which gave rise to copies in both bronze and pottery in Crete, Greece, and Cyprus, but more especially in Etruria. Important, though less closely demonstrable, is the influence of Phoenician metal prototypes on incense stands and lamp stands in Italy, which was a natural consequence of the Phoenician oil and incense export.[122]

There is little to point to in other sumptuary arts. Only an eleventh-century sceptre head from Curium (Pls. Vol., pl. 196) and a pair of gold crowns in Baltimore[123] give a glimpse of Phoenician goldwork before the Persian period (Fig. 21). A set of fine jewels from a woman's grave at ʿAin el-Hilwy near Sidon[124] shows a blend of Phoenician, Greek, and Achaemenian motifs, though the workmanship is clearly Phoenician. With the exception of Tartessian work, much of which is unique, Phoenician jewellery east and west, though sometimes technically excellent[125] is mostly stereotyped and dull, much of it amuletic. It was in the spreading of techniques and their adaptation to local style that Phoenician jewellers excelled, and although there are some sporadic

[122] C 77; C 13, 95–8 pl. 27 (ivory); C 51, 68 fig. 52. [123] C 51B, nos. 317, 774; C 64.
[124] C 7, 107–8, pl. 108. [125] C 94.

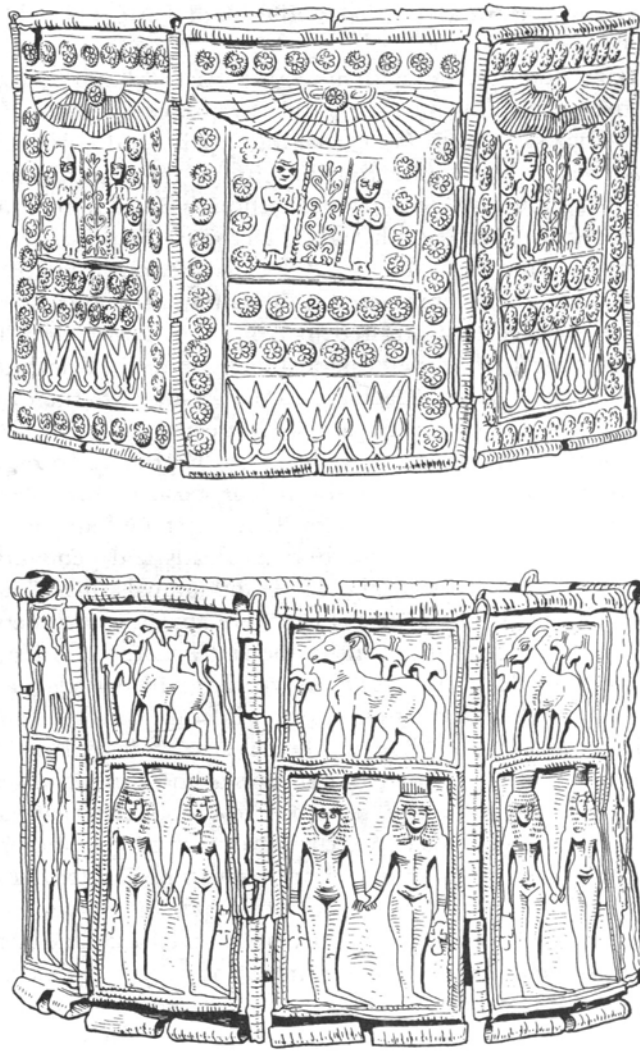


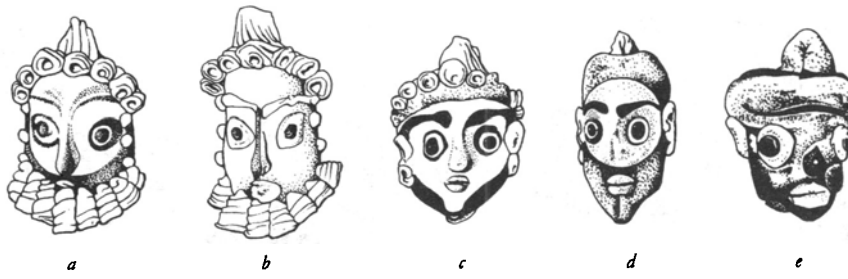
Fig. 21. The Baurat–Schiller gold crowns. The fertility themes link them to the jointed crowns worn by women shown on carved ivories. Tenth century B.C.? Diameters 21.6 and 22.5 cm. (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 57.968–9; after C 64, figs. 1–4.)

imports to Greece and Italy, especially of seal-mounts, it is remarkable what little influence the known forms of Phoenician jewellery had overseas. The jewellery of Carthage, Motya, and Tharros is but a poor relation to the wealthy and original goldwork of Tartessus and Orientalizing Etruria.

Phoenicians were credited with inventing glass, though in fact for the most part they revived, some time in the seventh century, the Egyptian Eighteenth-Dynasty tradition of making small sand-core vessels of variegated colours.[126] By the fourth century these miniatures were common throughout the Mediterranean, though by then their manufacture was probably shared with Greek factories: many of them copy Greek amphorae and jugs in shape. Older is the minor art of making polychrome beads with impressed white or multicoloured eyes and strands. These are earliest attested in Iron Age Cyprus and Twenty-second dynasty Egypt, but their establishment in inland Palestinian contexts of the eighth century (Lachish, Samaria) suggests their origin in coastal Phoenicia, for there they are well attested in the fifth century, although not in the great numbers found in Carthage, Ibiza, and the West. Their popularity amongst south European cultures led to the establishment of local bead factories there, first in Italy (late eighth century), later in Istria and south France. Beads and pendants in the shape of comic human masks (Fig. 22)[127] and animals, made of molten glass strands worked on a pontil-stick, were appealing trinkets which appear first to have been invented in the sixth century. Much rarer is evidence of moulded and cold-cut glass working: the Aliseda glass jug[128] is the prime example of it, but there are bowls from Nimrud[129] and green glass bottles from Atlit and Cyprus. There is also evidence from Nimrud and Cyprus of Phoenician work in rock-crystal and a surprising number of minor objects in this material have been found in Carthage tombs.[130]

The making of fancy cosmetic palettes out of carved and engraved shells of the *tridacna squamosa*[131] scallop has also been attributed to the Phoenicians (Pls. Vol., pl. 134). Their distribution is a wide one and includes Delphi, Samos, Cyrene, and Etruria as well as inland sites in the Near East (Tel Arad, Bethlehem, Nimrud) and Egypt. A few alabaster palettes come from the same workshops as the carved shells and make up a corpus of highly distinctive designs in which Phoenician motifs predominate. But in fact their style is difficult to pin down. It is quite possible that since the shells themselves belong to the Red Sea they are the work of a group of Phoenician craftsmen settled at Elath. The Delphi 'shell' is of alabaster and adds a technical link to the stylistic links between tridacna carving and a group of alabaster and terracotta

[126] C 3, 66–112; C 5, 114–16. [127] C 79. [128] C 302, 107–20. [129] C 86.
[130] C 15; C 152, 19. [131] C 103.



a *b* *c* *d* *e*

Fig. 22. Glass face beads from Carthage (*a-d*) and no provenance (*e*). (After C 79, figs. 1–5, nos. 5, 17, 86, 470, 577.)

alabastra shaped like female votaries.[132] Some of these are certainly Rhodian, but their prototypes are either Phoenician or Syrian.

Many of the ivories and bronzes are fittings for harness, especially blinkers and headpieces. The fine leatherwork which accompanied them and which in itself must have constituted an important export industry has perished. Warriors are represented in Cypriot sculpture wearing short tunics decorated in a Phoenician panelled style[133] suggesting tooled and dyed leather. Indeed the importance to Phoenician trade of crafts dependent on humbler materials must not be overlooked. Carpentry and upholstery are well attested Carthaginian trades (Cicero, *Pro Murena* 36; Varro, I.52.1 and III.7.3), using the varied timbers from the Maghreb forests and feathers from migratory birds on the Tunisian marshes. According to surviving terracotta models, it was serviceable rather than stylish furniture. Cedar coffins from Tunisian sites,[134] some from Carthage and Kerkouane with their lids carved to represent the dead, attest in the West skills which must derive from homeland craftsmanship. Among the many natural resources which must have given Phoenician enterprise a host of new directions in North Africa is the ostrich: it is well represented in archaic Etruscan art, and the export of live birds and feathers was probably a profitable side-line for Carthage. The painting and etching of ostrich eggs, the former going back to Neolithic times in North Africa, are of exceptional interest in that they preserve in many cases the earliest motifs of Libyan–Berber folk-art, quite different from Phoenician.[135] There is a good example from Tarquinia.[136] Painted ostrich eggs were placed in many west Phoenician graves – at Carthage, Ibiza, Gouraya, Villaricos, and Tangiers[137] – some with Phoenician decoration, others parts of shell painted

[132] C 96. [133] C 51B, nos. 69, 70. [134] C 4 II, pl. 68. [135] C 42.
[136] C 106. [137] C 390, 130–40.

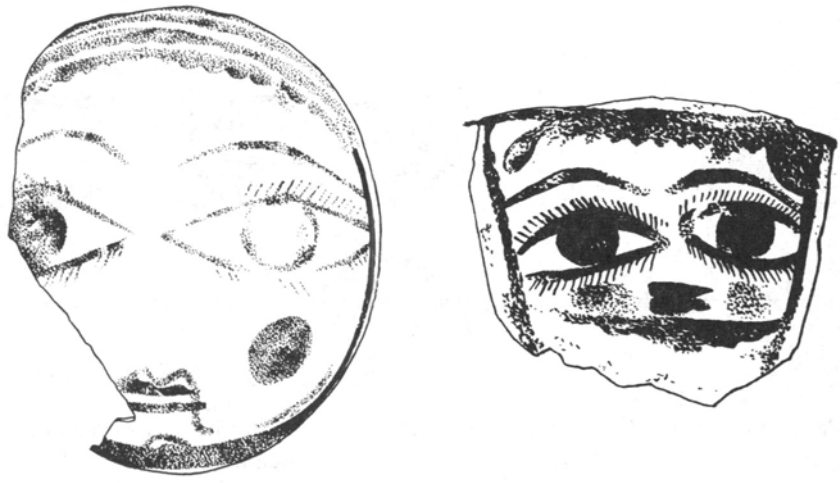


Fig. 23. Painted ostrich eggs from Carthage. (After C 42, pls. 2.2, 5.)

with humpty-dumpty faces, wide-eyed in anticipation of the life-from-death the eggs themselves symbolized (Fig. 23). Decorated eggs are not, of course, a major art form, but they are an important illustration of an independent western cultural development resulting from new ethnic contacts.

Although they have not contained the international exotica of the shrines of the Aegean world, the votive deposits from the small temples of Phoenicia and Palestine are important in another respect. Votive terracotta models from shrines at Sarepta,[138] at Kharayeb,[139] and the Eshmun temple (both near Sidon), and country chapels at Makmish, Tell es-Safi, and Tell Sippor in Palestine throw light on the much-neglected Phoenician coroplastic art and religious iconography, making it possible to distinguish the Phoenician cult images from the better studied series of Cypriot terracottas. There has also come to light a small group of Phoenician pottery vessels with appliqué modelled panels.[140] On examples from Cyprus and Nimrud the plaques take the shape of four-winged seraphs. Though little is known about the origins of a distinctively Phoenician glyptic, smothered as almost all seals are with Egyptian iconography, it is nevertheless possible to distinguish a definite Phoenician pseudo-Egyptian style of scarab seal in the ninth century[141] and to find, especially on scarabs of the Persian period, religious images of purely Phoenician form, in part reviving an imagery unattested since the thirteenth century B.C.[142] Here, as in all Phoenician art, there is a profound conservatism which prized the talismanic above the aesthetic

[138] C 93, 22–6. [139] C 85. [140] C 102. [141] C 108. [142] C 61.

virtues of images, but which nevertheless merged with Greek styles of gem-cutting. The strong influence of Greek art on Phoenician is nowhere better seen than in the purely Greek forms of some of the terracottas of sixth-/fourth-century deposits and in the emergence of a joint style of gem-cutting called 'Greco-Phoenician'. At the end of the fifth century and during the fourth the influence of Egypt on Phoenician and Punic art somewhat receded, but conversely this was the period of maximum interest in Egyptian scarabs and amulets in the West. Many of these are not canonical Egyptian objects and it is difficult to establish whether they were made in the colonies or by some Phoenician enterprise in Egypt.

III. PHOENICIANS IN THE WEST

Phoenician contacts with Greece, Cyprus and Italy are discussed in *CAH* III^2.3, Chapters 36*a*, 36*c* and 38, and in *CAH* IV^2, Chapter 13. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the evidence for Phoenician trade and colonies in the west Mediterranean.

1. *Colonial problems*

The idea is now fashionable that, in contrast to Greek colonists, the Phoenicians sought to establish a regular but flimsy commercial network of 'comptoirs', 'échelles', and other ports of call. This certainly was an important aspect, but we have no grounds to suppose that Phoenicians might not also have sought space, food, and freedom. Carthage itself commanded a large agricultural and arboricultural basis, as probably did Cagliari, Malta, and Ibiza and some of the towns in Morocco and Spain.[143] Furthermore, use of the large tracks of forest along the Maghreb coast and perhaps access to the iron deposits there must have made some inland control necessary, and whilst the Greek colonies certainly relied heavily upon the acquisition of a fertile *chora*[144] even ignoring excellent harbours such as Brindisi which did not have them, the Phoenicians normally and initially selected sites for security and sea access. But obviously the necessity for wood, charcoal, and pasturage alone must soon have led to substantial acquisitions of land.[145]

Near Eastern experience did not include colonization on the Greek model of founding new *poleis*. Some of the network of international trade in the Orient was maintained by establishing trading colonies in foreign cities and it appears most likely that the Phoenicians did this in some of the inland cities of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Aegean at least, maintaining not merely trade missions but also workshops for the local

[143] C 411, 52. [144] C 130, 15. [145] C 136, 72.

manufacture of 'Phoenician goods'. The only hint of this in literature is in Judges (18:7, 27–8), which refers to a colony of Sidonians living at Laish, east of the Jordan, not said to be in trade, but certainly well placed for it. This policy certainly began earlier than the turn to colonies overseas. What brought the change is unknown. Assyrian oppression is a factor often suggested, and indeed it cannot be denied that the great expansion of colonial activity in the first half of the seventh century might be a result of Esarhaddon's policies towards Phoenicia.[146] At the same time, Assyrian control of the inland markets might have driven the merchants to seek alternative overseas outlets. Population explosions, bad harvests, and political unrest are amongst the many factors we cannot ignore or yet measure. A rise rather than a fall in the standard of living at home might have sent the first pioneers overseas to satisfy the market for metals and other raw materials, and in fact, contrary to what has been suggested above, the growth of Assyrian interest in Phoenicia might have stimulated that market. But it seems quite evident that, apart from Cyprus, Phoenicia had no substantial colonial interests overseas before 700 B.C. Diodorus speaks of pre-colonial trading contacts[147] and Thucydides of the contraction of Phoenician interest in Sicily when the Greeks 'began to arrive in number'.[148] But we do not know what presuppositions ancient authors had about Phoenician precedence. A bronze figure of Ba^{c}al, dredged from the sea off Sciacca in southern Sicily, alters nothing; though it compares generally with Bronze Age Canaanite figurines,[149] it has substantial differences and even if early – which is highly doubtful – could well have come by the same, presumably Mycenaean, channels which brought Cypriot vases to Bronze Age graves in eastern Sicily. A second-millennium Near Eastern cylinder seal from Vélez Málaga,[150] found in unknown circumstances, is too isolated (and too early) to enter into the picture of pre-colonial contact, for which generally there is a remarkable lack of evidence. The earliest direct evidence is provided by the Nora Stone from southern Sardinia, certainly the earliest Phoenician inscription in the West.[151] All that can be said about this inscription with certainty is that it was inscribed on local stone, refers to events in Sardinia concerning a certain Pumai, and is in a script which is eighth century at the latest.[152] That it is complete, mentions Tarshish, and relates historical events which show Sardinia was Tarshish (or that it was not), and that it was written in the ninth or even tenth centuries are all uncertain.[153] It does not, however, necessarily imply Phoenician colonization.

The type of site which appealed to the settlers was unfortunately in

[146] C 289. [147] C 3, 153–4. [148] C 3, 381. [149] C 121. [150] C 273, 23.
[151] C 3, 30–43; C 117; C 122; C 131. [152] See p. 507. [153] C 136, 425–6.

itself not ideal for preservation. Tips of promontories and small islands at little distance from the coast, especially where good anchorage in a nearby delta or lagoon was available, were preferred:[154] nowhere do the Phoenicians appear to have aimed initially to settle large tracts of land. Many of these small toe-holds probably saw very brief settlement before abandonment. Erosion, changes in sea-levels, and silting of deltas must have obliterated many of them. But it was not only their sea-links and harbour requirements which dictated such sites, nor yet only that they could be easily defended or quickly evacuated. They were easy to trade from and to fish from: for the first settlers the shallow waters were the surest source of protein. In the course of settlement it must soon have been realized that this necessity could be turned to commercial advantage and from it grew the salted and dried-fish industry of the Phoenicians in the West, celebrated by ancient writers.[155] Many settlements have lagoons in their vicinity, suitable for the set-net fishing which the Phoenicians are said to have introduced. It is remarkable also how many settlements were placed near natural salt-pans, some of which, as at Motya and Isla Plana (Ibiza), are still worked today. Salt, of course, was the basic necessity in the preserved fish industry, but it may also have been a trading commodity in itself. Osiers and reeds, too, for the making of ropes, traps, and panniers were available in the deltas and marshes.

A major insoluble problem besets the history of Phoenician colonization – the part played by Carthage itself. Were other colonies founded from Carthage, or as a result of its prospection of suitable sites, and did Carthaginians aim from soon after its foundation to cast a network of colonies over the West and build a commercial 'empire'? Alternatively, did colonies come independently from the motherland or, in Spain, from Cadiz? If so at what stage did they fall under Carthaginian domination, and what kind of domination was it? The ethnic and ideological hegemony of Carthage is only to be expected. About 550 B.C. the Carthaginian general Malchus mounted a campaign to consolidate the Phoenician hold on Sardinia, but it was not until the rise of the Magon family in the late sixth century that Carthage seems to have been in a position to exercise political and military control in the West. The terms of the first treaty with Rome (509 B.C.) given by Polybius (III.22) make clear that Carthage could lay down conditions about trade in Sardinia and that part of Sicily which was under Phoenician control.[156] In the later treaty with Rome (348 B.C.), Carthage was able to delimit Roman navigation on the eastern coast of Spain as well. It is interesting that Polybius expressly includes the 'Tyrians' on the side of the Carthaginians in this treaty, meaning probably the Tyrians of the West, other than

[154] C 4 II, 53–64; C 184, 137. [155] C 276, 413. [156] C 5, 154–5.

those of Carthage.[157] But it was essentially Carthage's superiority at sea which made its treaties with Rome operable and gave it some *de facto* control of all the western colonies. According to Strabo (XVII.1.19), its ships were able to intercept all foreign vessels sailing its shores in the directions of Sardinia or the Pillars of Hercules.

Inscriptions and coins throw little light on either Carthage's internal or external affairs. We do not know what type of government existed at Carthage in its first centuries; by the fifth century, when we have our first inscription evidence,[158] the Magonids appear as *rbm*, but by about 450 B.C. the civil magistrate of the suffetes (*sōfim*) had been instituted as some form of republican control. The Magonids themselves, though designated *rb* in Punic inscriptions (probably meaning 'general'), were elected suffetes, and certainly not 'kings' as classical sources imply. The West Phoenician colonies had no coins before the end of the fifth century: the first were struck in Sicily on both Phoenician and Attic standards, with the mint at Carthage following late in the fourth century. Punic coinages in Sardinia, Ibiza, Pantelleria, and Malta cannot be shown to begin before Roman times and those of the southern towns of Spain not before 250 B.C. Except for the coins of Pantelleria and Malta, which have Phoenician motifs, all coins are frankly Greek in design. Their legends are useful sources of information on place names (though not on the Sardinian–Punic issues). *Ann* on coins of Malta, and *Ziz*[159] ('The Splendid') on those of Palermo alone preserve what are probably the names of these important West Phoenician centres.

No account of Phoenician colonization can ignore the religious dimension. Melqart of Tyre, himself a sea god, was probably conceived, like Heracles in Greek legend, to have preceded the pioneers into the far West. In a bilingual inscription from Malta he is named 'archegetes', founder. The peopling of the new lands with the Semitic gods, the sanctification of capes and promontories with dedications and shrines, the conversion of ancient shrines such as Tas Silg in Malta and Mt Eryx in Sicily, the hallowing of caves and grottoes such as Es Cuyram in Ibiza and Grotta Regina near Palermo[160] – all these represent a vital process in assimilation. Large and ancient temples were a phenomenon of the West Phoenician world – at Lixus, Cadiz, Utica, the temples of Juno and Melqart in Malta and Juno at Carthage. They had probably more than a purely religious role in Phoenician society by acting as places of asylum, centres for the ratifying of commercial contracts, the taking of oaths – and even perhaps as suppliers of capital.[161] Soon a distinctive Western emphasis emerged in Phoenician religion, with the overwhelming emphasis on the cults of the Tyrian Ba^{c}al Hammon (called *melek*, king)

[157] C 5, 154–5. [158] C 129. [159] C 127, 141–9; C 202. [160] C 132.
[161] C 3, 282–5.

and Tanit (Astarte) as well as composite versions of homeland deities, such as Milk-Ashtart. The cult of Tanit, now attested both in name and symbol in the homeland,[162] completely eclipsed (or subsumed) that of Phoenician Astarte. Another western emphasis was on child sacrifice, called *molk*, evidenced in the 'tophets' established during the earliest stages of certain Western colonies.[163] These were open-air walled enclosures in which the remains of incinerated children were deposited as public evidence of piety. Though no tophets have been found there, literary evidence shows that this was a custom practised in Phoenicia,[164] though probably not on the west Phoenician scale. In Punic inscriptions associated with urn deposits, especially those from El-Hofra near Constantine in Algeria,[165] distinction is made between a *mlk ʾmr* and a *mlk ʾdm*, the sacrifice of a lamb and of a human. Although it has been thought that the sacrifice of an animal substitute became prevalent,[166] new evidence from the Tanit Precinct at Carthage shows that child sacrifice did in fact predominate down to the time of the Punic Wars.[167] Quite possibly the insecurity and vulnerability of the colonists led to the revival of a practice deemed to assure community safety. Diodorus (XX.13–14) describes how the Carthaginians resorted to child sacrifice at a time of national crisis, when Agathocles of Syracuse invaded North Africa in 310. It is also possible that native Libyan practices had contributed to the popularity of human sacrifice amongst the colonists.

In the tophet urns, as also in normal incineration burials, birds, rodents, and small reptiles were placed, dead or alive.[168] Cockerels were also sometimes buried with the dead. These are, perhaps, the symbols of the resurrection of the soul; for intangible though such matters are in the context of our ignorance, it would be foolish to deny the Phoenicians an advanced eschatology,[169] or to imagine that by sacrificing their children, for whatever cause, they were not thereby advancing their souls to a higher state of existence. Scores of gravestones erected over the tophet urns or other urn burials are sculptured with a clearly defined set of abstract symbols, amongst them the 'twin pillars' which appear to have symbolized both in Tyre and the western colonies the supports of the sky at the approach of the abode of God.[170] The colonial process duplicated the essential iconography of Tyre's Melqart temple – the pillars, the perpetual flame, the tomb of Melqart, and probably also his empty throne – to the tip of Cadiz. Thereby the ultimate cosmic realities were incorporated into the new geography, for all records are ambiguous about what exactly the 'Pillars of Hercules' were. And it is probably their ambiguity which is the true answer. On the physical level they were the

[162] C 93; C 123. [163] C 184, 140. [164] C 9, 207; C 126, 39–40; C 134, 156; C 135, 16–20.
[165] C 119. [166] C 134, 161. [167] C 134, 162. [168] C 133, 83.
[169] C 124; C 138, 17–19. [170] C 141, pls. 98–104.

rocks of Gibraltar and Abila (Jebel Tarifa) flanking the entry to the ocean; in cult, they were the pillars set up in the Melqart temple at Cadiz; to human knowledge they represented the separation of the Mediterranean known from the oceanic unknown; in the graveyard they surely symbolized the ultimate abode of the supreme god to which the dead had now been called. Beginning in the sixth century, this intense use of funerary religious symbols, obscure as their iconography is, seems to betoken specifically West Phoenician theological developments. They are an important factor indicating a corpus of beliefs common to the important central colonies (Carthage, Sousse, Motya, Sulcis, Nora, Tharros), where tophets and accompanying grave stelae have been found. Does this indicate the cultural domination of Carthage in these centres? Though not exclusive to tophets, it is remarkable that this iconography is not instanced in Malta, Palermo, Ibiza, or the far West. Is this because their tophets, if they had them, have not been found? Or is it because they were poorer, provincial, and untouched by Carthaginian theology – or just different?

2. *Carthage and North Africa*

Carthage (*Qarṯḥadasht* in Phoenician, meaning 'New Town'), Tyre's most famous colony, was founded according to legend by Elissa (called Dido by the Libyans), sister of King Pygmalion of Tyre. This version goes back to the Greek historian Timaeus of Syracuse writing at the end of the fourth century.[171] An earlier fourth-century fragment of Philistos of Syracuse names the Tyrian founders as Azoros and Karchedōn, the former either a Phoenician personal name or taken from the name of Tyre (Ṭṣor), the latter from the rather inexplicable Greek form of the name 'Carthage'. Late tradition (Stephanus of Byzantium and Eustathius[172]) preserves this name and records 'Kakkabe' and 'Kambe' as other names for the city. Both names are found on late coins of Sidon, who calls herself mother of *kkb* and *kmb*,[173] but are not understood and might be Libyan in origin.

Both literary evidence (Polybius 1.73.4; 75.4) and landscape study confirm that the site of Carthage was a sea-girt peninsula inside a deep gulf (Pls. Vol., pl. 138). Aggradation of the land surface and the deposition of silt from the Medjerda and other rivers have removed the lagoons which formerly separated it from the land on the northern side; the Lake of Tunis lies to the south.[174] The hills of Djebel Amar and Djebel Nahli lay in the neck of the peninsula, providing natural defences on the landward side. The headland of Sidi Bou Said in the centre is the

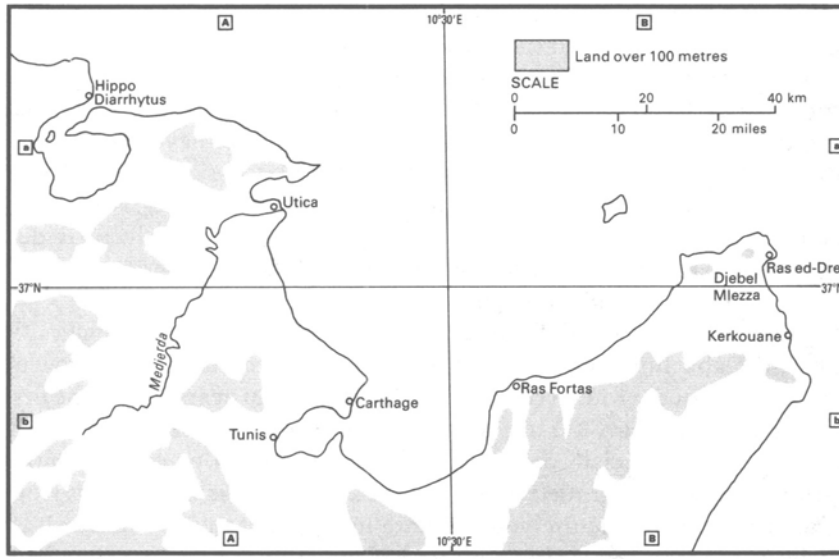
[171] C 3, 318; C 172, 139–235. [172] C 3, 260. [173] C 160, 106. [174] C 4 II, 59–69.

peninsula's most prominent point. To the north are other heights at Gamart and La Marsa; to the south the eminence of the Byrsa (Hill of St Louis), which became the traditional acropolis of the city. It is on this hill and the nearby graveyards of Douïmès, Dermech (Pls. Vol., pl. 138*b*) and the 'Hill of Juno' (Junon) that the earliest graves have been found. But there is no certainty that this is where the Tyrian pioneers first established themselves: the heights of Sidi Bou Said are more easily defensible and the inlets of the northern lagoon probably provided better shelter than the exposed shore east of the Byrsa, where eventually artificial harbours had to be dug out.

The foundation date of Carthage has been preserved in two ways.[175] First, the absolute date given by the Sicilian Greek historian Timaeus (second half of the fourth century B.C.) is forty-eight years before the first Olympiad, thus in 814/13 B.C. This date cannot be satisfactorily explained as 'artificial', made by Greek genealogical or other computations, but may be argued to be the date known to Sicilian writers from the Carthaginians themselves, who are most likely to have had at least dedicatory inscriptions concerning the foundation of the first temple in their city. Secondly, the early Tyrian king list summarized by Josephus from Menander (*Contra Apionem,* I.121–5) records how Carthage was founded in the seventh year of King Pygmalion by his sister. The most satisfactory calculation that can be made at present is that Pygmalion's seventh year was 814/813 B.C. Basic to this calculation is the synchronism between Ba^{c}alazor (Ba^{c}alezorus) and Shalmaneser III.[176] The former's reign was followed by the short reign of Matan I (829–821); then came Pygmalion (820–774).[177]

Classical historical tradition certainly placed other Phoenician foundations earlier. Aristotle placed the foundation of Utica 287 years before that of Carthage (*De mirab. auscult.* 134), and Pliny (*N.H.* XVI.79.216), writing in A.D. 77, states that the cedar beams in the temple of Apollo at Utica had lasted 1,178 years. This gives a date of 1101 B.C. A Tyrian source also records (Jos. *Ant. Jud.* VIII.324) the founding of Auza in Libya about 875 B.C. by Ittoba^{c}al, the predecessor of Ba^{c}alazor. Nothing is known from either historical or archaeological sources to support these high dates for Phoenician arrival in North Africa, nor is the site of Auza known. A Greek historical tradition which placed colonists from Naxos and elsewhere on the Tunisian coast before the foundation of the Naxian colonies in Sicily and Italy (i.e., late eighth century B.C.), a tradition itself of doubtful accuracy, says nothing of Phoenicians there.[178] Modern scholarship has therefore doubted the likelihood of Phoenician settlements in Africa older than Carthage. The high date for

[175] C 41, 106–52. [176] C 3, 322; C 21. [177] C 21, 117–28. [178] C 140, 25–6.



Map 7. North Africa.

Utica has been scarcely accepted by modern scholars and seems too uncomfortably close to the calculated date of the Trojan War.[179]

The record of quite extensive excavated material at Carthage gives no grounds to believe that anything yet found there can be dated before 750–720 B.C. P. Cintas, the chief protagonist of the traditional foundation date, has used quite questionable methods in trying to ratify it from archaeology. For instance, bone rectangular plaques[180] from diadems or caskets of a type known at Megiddo in Palestine and Villaricos, Carmona, and Rachgoun in the West in contexts no earlier than 650 B.C. were found at Carthage in a tomb containing a scarab of Pedubast, which he ascribes to Pedubast I (818–793). Not only can it be shown that Pedubast scarabs were used in Naucratis, Carthage, and elsewhere down to the fifth century,[181] but no mention is made of a set of exactly similar plaques found in 1918 by A. Merlin[182] in a grave at Carthage containing two Proto-Corinthian cups and an Etruscan *bucchero* amphora of about 650 B.C. Nor do a few Proto-Corinthian globular aryballoi[183] from unrecorded graves at Carthage push back the date beyond 730 B.C. More significant is the Cycladic 'chevron cup',[184] a type which began to be imported to Italy shortly before 760 B.C., though they appear to have lasted over a long period and continued to reach Italy much later.[185]

[179] C 3, 199–211. [180] C 4 1, 298–302. [181] C 1, 445; C 302. [182] C 164, 298–9.
[183] C 4 1, pl. 18 fig. 86. [184] C 4 1, pl. 18 fig. 87. [185] C 169.

One of the mainstays of Punic chronology, since its discovery in 1927, has been the stratified deposit of burial urns in the Precinct of Tanit in the harbour area of Carthage (Pls. Vol., pl. 139*a*).[186] This was a tophet in which sacrificed children and animals were buried. It appeared to have 'phases', based both on a loose stratigraphy and on differences in urn types ('Tanit I–III'). With the middle phase (Tanit II) was associated (though precisely how is unclear) a single Proto-Corinthian kotyle of a type current about 670 B.C.[187] But this by no means allows one to assume that Tanit I goes back to the foundation in 814 B.C., since the speed and means by which the deposit was built up is unknown. In any case recent and sophisticated re-excavation of the Tanit Precinct[188] has cast great doubt upon the precision of the Tanit I–III sequence and turned up no Greek pottery associated with Tanit II earlier than 400 B.C. The only control on Tanit I types is therefore still the tomb groups in which they occur, which in turn depend for date on their Proto-Corinthian imports.[189] It must also be stressed that the Punic pottery found at Carthage provides nothing demonstrably typologically earlier than Tanit I shapes, and that no tomb groups can be recognized more archaic in style than those with the earliest Greek imports. Homeland Phoenician pottery provides no comparisons before about 750 B.C. It is also remarkable that the pottery at Motya and Malta begins at the same stage. Urn shapes typical of Tanit I cover the first half of the sixth century at Motya, except for 'crater-urns' (i.e., with handles to rim)[190] which are peculiar to Tanit I and certainly indicate a slightly more archaic aspect of West Phoenician pottery than is known elsewhere in the West.

Thus, if the traditional date for the foundation of Carthage is to be accepted, there is a gap of about a century before the first archaeological record of it. Proto-Corinthian pottery is plentiful in the earliest recorded tombs and a group of pots from a bedrock 'chapel' below level I at the Tanit Precinct is vaguely Late Greek Geometric in style.[191] The group includes a jar, a bottle-like carafe, a bird-shaped 'feeder' and some cups. With them was found a plain crater of Akhziv type and some Phoenician plates. Dating this pottery before 750 B.C. is not possible: much of it appears to be a local (or possibly south Italian) version of Late Corinthian Geometric.[192] The bird-shaped feeder or askos, whatever its derivation, was part of the West Phoenician repertoire as shown by a similar (though red-slipped) example from Sulcis. At least one vessel, a small narrow olpe with upswung handle, has its best parallel in graves at Pontecagnano and Suessula[193] in Campania, dated to the late eighth and

[186] C 159. [187] C 159, 86, fig. 8. [188] C 171, 33.
[189] C 141, 12–8, pls. 2–3, 18–20. [190] C 159, fig. 3j, l.
[191] C 41, 316–22, pls. 10–11; C 55, 386. [192] Compare C 41, pl. 36; C 151, 604, fig. 14.
[193] C 2, pl. 9 h; C 41, pl. 9 fig. 43; C 150, 101–3, figs. 18, 33, 59; C 157, pl. 49, 1; C 166, 663.

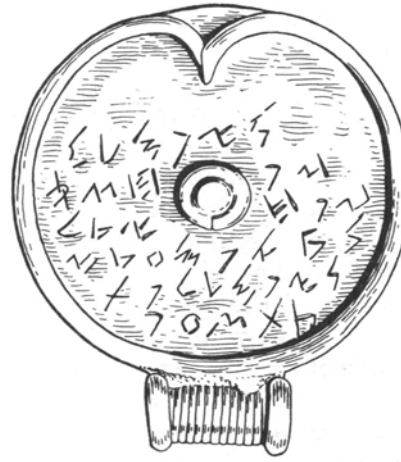


Fig. 24. Inscribed gold medallion from Carthage. (After C 156, 47, pl. 1.)

early seventh centuries. There are others from Tarquinia, Cumae, and Capua. Nor are the twisted handle of the amphora or the cups from this 'chapel' difficult to parallel there.[194] The carafe too is of a shape at home in the Italian Late Geometric and foreign to Greece.[195] Although the deposit might not be an archaeologically 'closed group' as was originally thought, all datable parallels impose a late eighth-century date; no single item can be put back in the ninth.

The oldest tombs of Carthage, at Douïmès,[196] Dermech,[197] and the 'Hill of Juno',[198] excavated late in the last century and earlier this century, were all published very sketchily. One of the most important is a tomb in the Douïmès area[199] which contained a small gold medallion inscribed with a dedication to Ashtart by one Iadamelek (Fig. 24).[200] This is the oldest inscription from North Africa, and since the same tomb contained a Proto-Corinthian kotyle it cannot be dated before about 700 B.C., though it is argued that the script is more archaic. The rest of the tomb furniture was typical of that of the oldest Phoenician tombs in the West: trefoil-mouth jug, disc-topped jug, cup, and cooking pots. The cemetery of Ard-et-Touibi[201] appears to have been in part contemporary with those of Douïmès and Dermech. One of the trefoil-mouth jugs is described as having a brilliant red slip[202] and other ceramic forms and

[194] C 4 I, pl. 10, 32; C 150, figs. 16–17. [195] C 4 I, pl. 9, 37; C 168, pl. XV, 12; C 163.
[196] C 4 II, 302–5; C 152. [197] C 4 I, pls. 21–2, II, 226–81; C 158, 1–139.
[198] C 4 II, 286–93, pls. 93–4; C 155; C 164. [199] C 152, 13–15.
[200] C 156. [201] C 4 II, 322. [202] C 164.

jewellery are of seventh-century types. Corinthian cups and Etruscan *bucchero* feature prominently in the graves here as well as in the Dermech graves.[203] The clearest import is a bichrome flask with red slipped body, close to Citium pottery, but found here in a group with late Proto-Corinthian material.[204]

Next to Carthage in importance was Utica, originally a port at the mouth of the River Bagradas (Medjerda), which since antiquity has changed its course, leaving the site now 12 km inland.[205] Its position alone on the most direct route from Tyre to Cadiz suggests its importance, though in fact Utica's history is scarcely mentioned in ancient sources. Its Phoenician name and coinage are unknown.[206] The site is little explored because of the high water table. Pottery from tombs certainly includes some archaic pieces, but nothing for which even an eighth-century date can be clearly claimed; the earliest published imports are Late Corinthian, though some Proto-Corinthian has been mentioned.[207] All early pottery forms fall within the types known in Motya and Malta in dated contexts of the early seventh century. The island of Pachès, though too far offshore to be a likely first settlement point, has apparently provided evidence of West Phoenician occupation.

Though neither major nor necessarily early, other Phoenician sites are claimed for the coast of present-day Tunisia and Libya (Tripolitania). Sallust (*Jugurtha*, 19.1) claimed a Phoenician migrant origin for Hippo (but does not specify which of the two Roman Hippos, whether Regius (Bone) or Diarrhytus (Bizerta)); and also for Leptis, where again there were two, Leptis Minor, near Sousse, and Leptis Magna in Tripolitania. Silius Italicus (III. 256–8) gives Sabratha in Tripolitania a Tyrian origin. In the case of these last two cities excavation has confirmed their pre-Roman foundation, the fifth century for Sabratha[208] and mid-seventh for Leptis Magna, though so far the West Phoenician material from neither of them is impressive.[209] The date for Leptis Magna is based on some Corinthian pottery found in soundings there.

In Tunisia[210] Punic remains, often from later Roman sites, have been found on the north coast at Tabarca (Thabraca) and Bizerta (Hippou Akra); on the Cap Bon peninsula at Kerkouane, Djebel Mlezza, Ras ed-Drek, Ras Fortas, Ras Sidi Ali el-Mekki, Nabeul (Neapolis), and Siagu; south of Cap Bon towards the Gulf of Gabes at Sousse (Hadrumetum), Lemta (Leptis Minor), Ras ed-Dimas (Thapsus), Gummi (Mahdia), Ras Botria (Acholla), and Thana (Thaenae). There is also an important tomb at La Rabta, within Tunis itself.[211] The Punic population inland is less well represented archaeologically, but Dougga (Thugga), Maktar, and

[203] C 4 II, 234; C 141, 35. [204] C 4 I, fig. 87.
[205] C 4 I, 283–308, pl. 3; C 147, 8–13; C 148. [206] C 4 I, 294. [207] C 147, 62.
[208] C 145, 7. [209] C 145, 125–6. [210] C 7, 151–3. [211] C 154.

Le Kef (Sicca) were important centres. Material from none of these sites is as early as that from Carthage and Utica. Many indeed are very late, but most bear evidence of expansion in the fourth century, when Carthage was at her most powerful. Only the material from the tophet at Sousse approaches a sixth-century B.C. date.[212] Noteworthy are Kerkouane and Ras ed-Drek for the light they shed on architecture. Kerkouane was a flourishing well-planned town in the fourth century and was founded already in the sixth.[213] Next to the fortress of Ras ed-Drek on the tip of Cap Bon was a small rectangular temple, unique in North Africa: both temple and fortress were probably founded in the fifth century.

The Mediterranean shores of Algeria and Morocco are not covered by any literary source with regard to Phoenician colonies. A relay of coastal sites east and west of Algiers present suitable harbour and settlement conditions, beginning with Bone in the east and stretching to Rachgoun off the Oran coast. Of these sites, Tipasa, originally an island site west of Algiers, is known from recent archaeological work to have been founded a little before 600 B.C.[214] Chullu (Collo), Djidjelli (Igilgili), Cherchel (Iol), Gouraya (Gunngu), Les Andalouses, and Mersa Madakh have all produced later Punic material (fourth to second centuries), whilst Algiers itself (originally an island) is known from its coins to have had a Phoenician name (*ʾykṣm* – Ikosim). Other headlands whose Phoenician names have been preserved in Latin inscriptions are Rusicade (Skikda), Rusubbicari (Mers el-Hedjedj), Rusuccuru (Dellys), Rusippisir (Taksebt), Rusazus (Azeffoun) and Rusguniae (Bordj el-Bahri).[215] The tiny island of Rachgoun,[216] lying about 2 km off the coast opposite the Wadi Tafna, is an exceptionally important site, probably the Acra of Pseudo-Scylax.[217] Infertile, without anchorage except for a small artificial *cothon* (a small rectangular rock-cut basin), and with poor water supply, the island cannot have been intended for permanent settlement and indeed the pottery from the dwellings and incineration necropolis is concentrated in the second half of the seventh century. Whereas the early pottery of Tipasa derives from that of Carthage, perhaps confirming the statement of Pseudo-Scylax[218] that the cities of the central Maghreb were under Carthaginian control, that of Rachgoun has a distinctly Tartessian cast. Between Rachgoun and Oran two coastal sites seem to have shared in the trade ambience of Rachgoun. The small 'comptoir' of Mesa Madakh, predominantly native, was visited by Phoenicians who left a little archaic pottery; and Les Andalouses, a substantial Numidian town in the second century, was previously occupied along a short coastal strip by Phoenicians in the seventh century.

[212] C 6, 122. [213] C 165. [214] C 137, 123–31, figs. 80–2. [215] C 170.
[216] C 173, 55–130. [217] C 152, 38. [218] C 379, 107–8.

The native 'Libyan' or 'proto-Berber' population of North Africa at the time of Phoenician contact seems to have been one of scattered pastoralists, practising a little agriculture here and there. Their remains come entirely from tombs, dolmens, or rock-cut chambers (*haouanet*), heavily concentrated in Tunisia and around Constantine (Algeria). Although of considerable antiquity and for some time familiar with the use of bronze, the relics of their culture are difficult to date: it is not certain, for instance, whether their concentration in Tunisia predates the Phoenician colonies to any degree, or whether it is the result of the organized employment which Phoenician agriculture provided. Their part-contemporaneity with the early stages of colonization is evident from finds of archaic West Phoenician pottery and jewellery in native graves at Djebel Lindlès[219] on the Oran coast and in the Tangiers region. Considerable amounts of their hand-made pottery, in a tradition deriving in part from that of the Sicilian Bronze Age (Castellucio and Serraferlichio), have been found in Punic sites, particularly at Djebel Mlezza,[220] and in the early sites of Mersa Madakh[221] and Rachgoun.[222] But it is remarkable how resistant their own ceramic traditions were to Punic influences.

Their late survival and admixture with the colonists is shown particularly in burial practices, especially at Henchir el-Alia[223] and on other sites on the Tunisian littoral. Here, in contrast to the normal native dolmen burial, crouched burials together with burials of a different sort showing signs of partial cremation were found in Punic-type chamber tombs. These mixed rites, together with the use of ochre and ochre-stained coffins (these latter not normally used in native burials) associated with the crouched burials, suggest a mixed population. Nor is evidence confined to the outskirts: ochre burials are reported from Utica.[224]

The role of the native Libyans in the growth of Phoenician power in North Africa must not be underestimated.[225] They probably provided the work force which the Carthaginians organized into the massive tillage of the Tunisian plains, or used as mercenary troops. The archaeological evidence suggests a symbiosis rather than an enslavement, and most certainly does not suggest that the Libyans were exploited as a vital market for Phoenician goods, for apart from a few earrings from the dolmens of Beni Messous and Tayadirt,[226] no oriental luxuries have been found in inland Tunisia and Algeria. It is disputed whether the term *Libyphoenices*, used by Strabo[227] to denote non-Carthaginian inhabitants of North Africa, refers to a racial or legal status,

[219] C 173, 259–82. [220] C 143, 67–8; C 146, 182–4. [221] C 173, 145–6.
[222] C 173, 77–80. [223] C 164. [224] C 137, 70. [225] C 144.
[226] C 161. [227] C 4 II, 52.

that is whether people of mixed blood or Phoenicians living outside the official boundaries of Carthage; but mixed marriages must have been frequent, especially in the smaller towns like Sousse. Much in Carthaginian life may have been Libyan from the start: face-amulets, the 'bottle-idol' which appears on many of the earliest Punic tombstones, the placing of rats, mice, birds, and snail-shells in the burial jars, the amuletic use of pieces of ostrich eggs and tortoise-shell, as well as one or two shapes in pottery. Though it was certainly Syro-Palestinian in origin,[228] the curious Punic architecture with its megalithic stanchions might also have some Libyan contribution. It would, of course, be presumptuous to ascribe to Africa all that we cannot explain as Oriental; nevertheless there is increasing reason to believe that the Phoenician colonial process involved a degree of assimilation to local cultures, and that this is a contributory reason for the marked regional differences in West Phoenician culture, as important as the varied homeland backgrounds of the colonists themselves.

3. *Sicily*

Thucydides (VI. 2,6) informs us that the Phoenicians had established themselves on islands and promontories all round Sicily for the sake of trade and withdrew to western Sicily on the arrival of Greek colonists. He was right about their withdrawal to Panormus (Palermo), Soloeis (Solus), and Motya (Mozia), for archaeology has shown these three alone to have been early Phoenician settlements. But there is not a trace of early settlement elsewhere even though the island sites of Thapsus and Plemmyrium (Syracuse) were ideal for it. A few scarabs reached Siculan III sites in the east (800–650 B.C.), though these may have been brought by Greeks. The only other clue to Phoenician presence is in the early Greek graveyards themselves, where Phoenician commercial amphorae of types well dated in Malta were used for the interment of children, especially at Megara and Mylae (Milazzo).[229] In later times Selinus (Selinunte) and Heraclea Minoa on the south-western coast fell under Punic cultural and political domination. At Selinus Phoenician elements in cult practices have been detected even before 409 B.C. after which the city fell under a century of Punic rule.[230] Lilybaeum (Marsala) was a late foundation from Motya, though Phoenicians were probably interested in the headland of Lilybaeum at an earlier date. A Sicilian–Punic coinage with the legend 'Ras-Melkart' has been ascribed to either Cephaloedeum (Cefalù) or Heraclea Minoa. Inland from Trapani on Mt Eryx the Phoenicians established a shrine dedicated to Astarte (Venus Ericina).

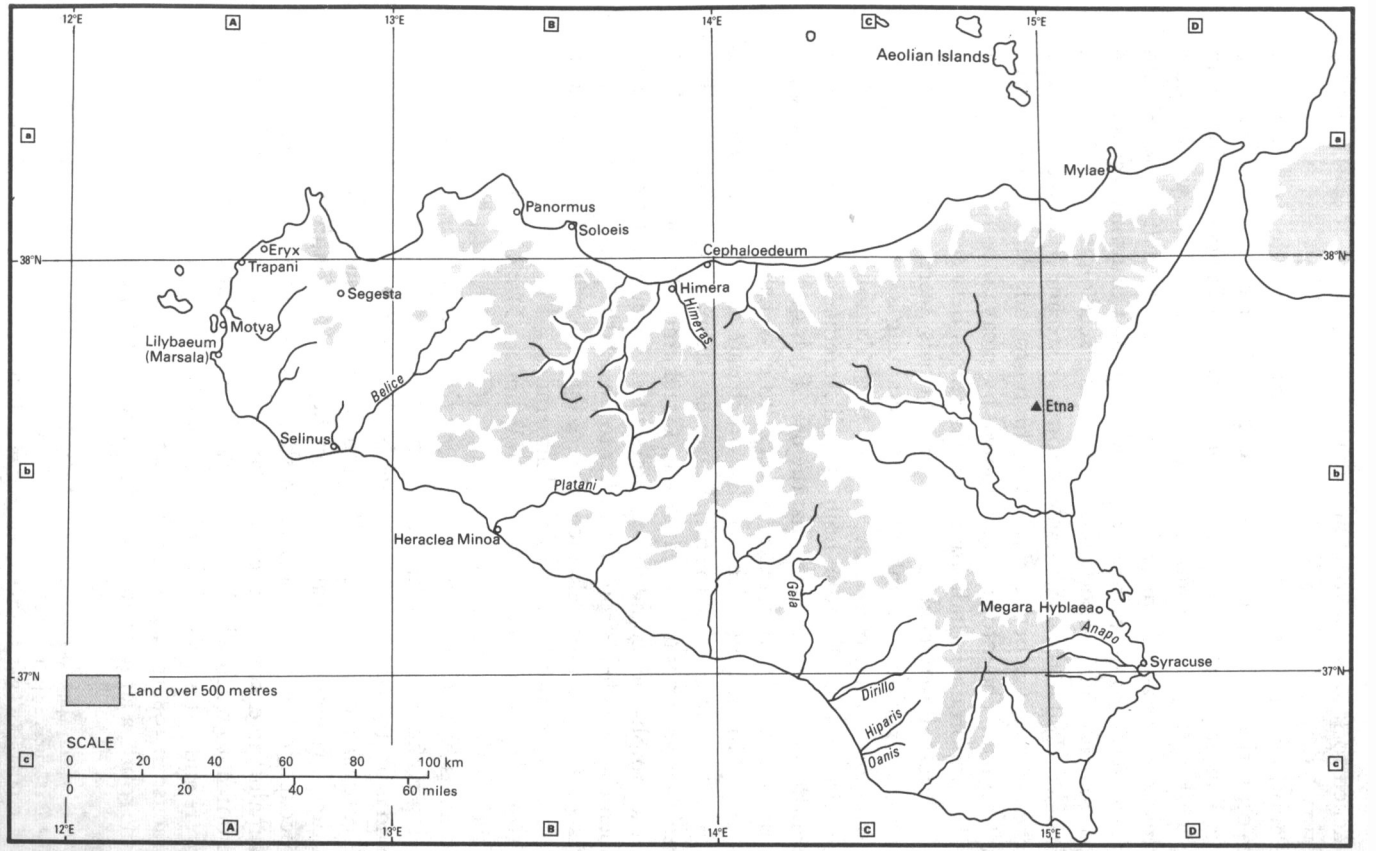
[228] C 7, 153. [229] C 177, pls. 51–2. [230] C 180; C 192.

Attached to it was a settlement which dates back to at least the fifth century B.C.

Panormus was certainly a flourishing city in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C., and a great deal of the grave material dates from that time. This may be attributed to the consolidation of Phoenician power in the west of the island following the establishment of the westernmost Greek colonies at Selinus and Himera in the second half of the seventh century. A few tombs with archaic jewellery and Corinthian vases can be dated to that time. The settlement itself was placed on the south-western side of a forked harbour with inlets from two streams,[231] and the nucleus of the old city was between these on high ground. Parts of the archaic walls remain. The information supplied by excavations in the necropolis[232] is important in indicating the differences between Panormus and other West Phoenician centres. The burials were mostly made in rectangular rock-cut chamber tombs containing monolithic sarcophagi or slab-cists, often closed by roofing tiles. Although there are a few cremations in small stone-built 'loculi', cremation is rare and late. Corinthian pottery indicates that the use of this graveyard dates back to about 630 B.C.,[233] but there is very little archaic West Phoenician pottery.[234] In the bulk of the tombs, which date to the second half of the sixth and the first half of the fifth centuries, the main types are of Sicilian Greek derivation with a great deal of Greek imported pottery.[235] Many of the amphorae come from Marseilles. Though there is a little Phoenician jewellery from the earlier tombs,[236] the Oriental amulets and terracottas which are so characteristic of Punic burials of the sixth/fourth centuries were not fashionable at Panormus.

Motya is the 120-acre island of San Pantaleo (Mozia) in a shallow bay to the north of Lilybaeum (Marsala)[237] (*CAH* IV², 744, Fig. 72). Both Pausanias (V.25.6) and Diodorus (XIV.47.4) regarded the inhabitants as having come from Carthage, rather than from earlier Sicilian sites. The island is protected from the open sea by the much larger Isola Grande on the eastward side and the 2.5 km circumference was itself in the sixth century surrounded by substantial fortifications. Though there are traces of occupation on the Isola Grande, there was no significant spread on to the mainland except for the secondary cemetery on the shore at Birgi to the north, to reach which a causeway was built. Apart from the fortified towers and gates (Pls. Vol., pl. 137), which finally fell to Dionysius of Syracuse in 398, the island's main features are an artificial *cothon* harbour in the south, a large shrine building (called Cappiddazzu) on the north, a

[231] C 174, 223–48; C 188, 354–9. [232] C 181; C 185; C 188, 271–7; C 189; C 190; C 191.
[233] C 186, item 2940, figs. 66–8.
[234] C 181; C 185, fig. 7; C 190, 258, fig. 19; C 191, 281, fig. 11. [235] C 281, 289–301.
[236] C 185, 486, fig. 5; C 186, item 2940. [237] C 184; C 187; C 188, 259–61.



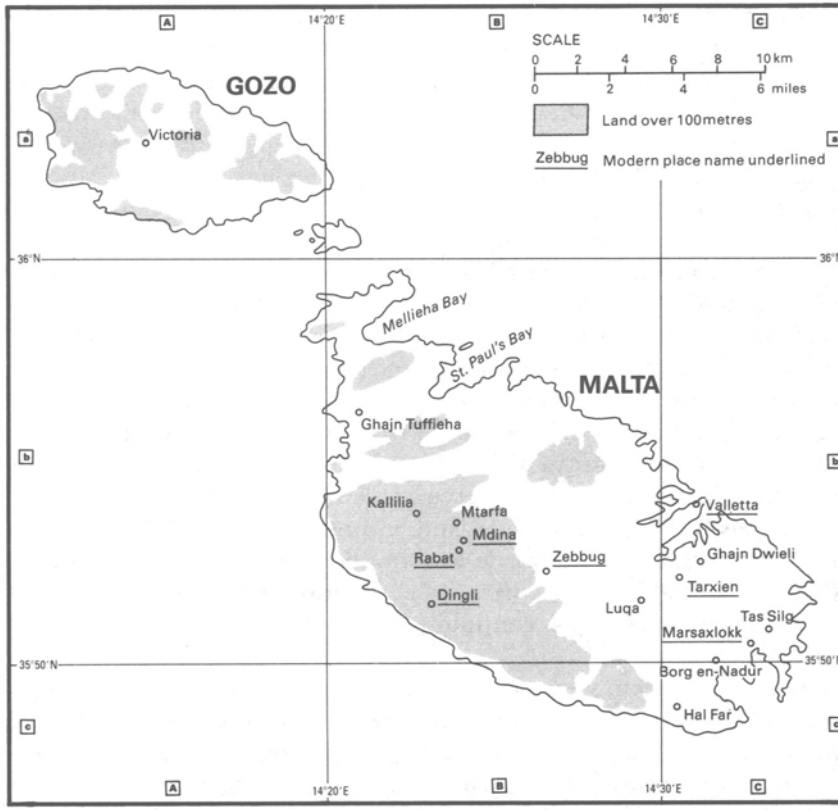
Map 8. Phoenician sites in Sicily.

tophet and a cremation cemetery outside and under the northern walls. The *cothon* is puzzling; certainly in its present form it is too small (51 × 35 m) to have been an effective harbour, but it could have been a dry dock for ship-building. The Cappiddazzu[238] appears to have been a tri-cella temple with an open temenos in which votive deposits were made, and stelae were erected from archaic times. The most archaic Motyan material comes from the extensive incineration graveyard on the northern margin of the island, its pottery partly comparable to that of Tanit I and containing a great deal of imported Proto-Corinthian pottery and its imitations. These include a form of Corinthian cup identical to one found at Taranto, which according to Eusebius was founded in 706 B.C.[239] Globular aryballoi are similar to those in tombs from Phalerum (Attica) dated to the last two decades of the eighth century.[240] A stratified fragment of a Late Geometric vessel from near the monumental north gate confirms that Motya was founded in the late eighth century,[241] though the bulk of imports are between 700 and 675. Though prehistoric pottery has been found on the island, it mostly dates to well before the first millennium.[242] Hand-made cooking pots are found together with West Phoenician remains here as at Panormus,[243] but there is no indication that they are a continuum from earlier times on the island itself.[244]

Soloeis lies 20 km west of Palermo at Pizzo Cannita and was a large Hellenistic town, partly Punic in culture. A third-century B.C. coinage with the Punic legend *ḳphr* – Kephara, the Village – has been ascribed to it. But this was not the original foundation. Considerable remains of early Phoenician settlement appear in a graveyard at Punta di Solanto and to the south at settlement sites inland at La Cannita and Monte Porcara near the town of S. Flavia in a fertile valley; they are certainly archaic and are accompanied by Corinthian material of the seventh century.[245]

There can be little doubt that a close friendship existed between the Phoenician settlers and the indigenous Elymians of western Sicily. It was in Elymian alliance that in 415–413 B.C. the Carthaginians first made war against the Greeks, and Elymians would surely welcome the presence of an ally against the gradual Greek aggression in Sicily. The grey-slipped pottery typical of Elymian culture and characteristic of Elymian Segesta is found at Motya and at Eryx (Erice), itself an Elymian town. The large cyclopean walls at Eryx and Segesta have been thought to be Elymian in

[238] C 187 II, 7–24, IV, 7–47, VIII, 5–33; C 193, 202–5. [239] C 187 VIII, 68, pl. 50, 2.
[240] C 1, pl. 17, 66–7; C 179, 112, fig. 6. [241] C 184, 73. [242] C 187 IX, 84–6.
[243] C 187 VII, pl. 58, 2; C 187 IX, figs. 3, 6, 10, pl. 7. [244] C 184, 73.
[245] C 178, 135; C 182; C 183.



Map 9. Phoenician sites on Malta and Gozo.

origin,[246] though the later walls and gates of Eryx are more Phoenician in construction.

4. *Malta and Pantelleria*

According to Diodorus (v.12.4) Malta was colonized as part of the Phoenician trading drive towards southern Spain because of its position on the high seas. The Grand Harbour of Valletta may, however, have been unsuitable for ancient merchant ships. The main Phoenician site of the island, Tas Silg, undoubtedly on or near the renowned temple of Astarte[247] (and later of Juno), dominates the shallower Marsaxlokk Bay on the south-east corner of the island, which probably gave easier access. In the north east St Paul's Bay may have played a similar role. But the

[246] C 175; C 176. [247] C 196.

extensive remains of Malta's Phoenician past do not suggest that it was an important Mediterranean entrepot. The carved ivory pieces and Greek imports from the sacred site of Tas Silg[248] are unusual for Phoenician Malta, which generally seems to have been out of the mainstream. After the early tomb groups, dated by a little Proto-Corinthian material and some pottery of archaic West Phoenician type, Malta's pottery follows its own pattern, diverges considerably from that of Carthage, and is scarcely touched by influences from Punic Sicily.

Few townscapes in the Mediterranean have been altered as much as Valletta: the knights and their fortifications may have removed its Phoenician past entirely, for there are no archaic tombs in its vicinity or at Msida inlet. Graveyards at Pawla, Ghajn Dwieli, Tal Liedna, Tarxien,[249] Luqa, and Qormi[250] (within modern Valletta's outer urban fringe) begin in the late sixth century and last through to the early third. By contrast almost all earlier material is concentrated inland on the limestone ridges of Mdina and Rabat and it is here that the earliest (sixth-century) Phoenician inscription was found. The likely conclusion is that the early Phoenician urban centre was on what is the natural capital of the entire island (at Mdina-Notabile) – and indeed at one of the farthest points from any harbour, since there is none whatever on the south-west coast. There are other reasons. The structural fault which runs across the island virtually from north to south, and which uplifts the eastern part, has caused fresh-water springs there on the harder limestone, which provide some relief from Malta's notoriously bad water. Off the harder limestone ridges in the west-centre runs a network of streams such as the Wied il-Hemsija and the Wied Qlejgha, which produce a terrain of gardens. Indeed the bulk of Romano-Punic tombs are concentrated in this, as well as the earliest Phoenician tombs known in the island.[251] Besides Proto-Corinthian pottery from tombs, a little Corinthian has been found in Rabat itself.[252] After this imports drop off abruptly. Further west there are a few archaic tombs at Ghajn Tuffieha and Zebbieh, but those in the Mellieha Bay area in the furthest north west are fourth-century.[253] In fact the distribution of Phoenician tombs (of all periods) throughout both Malta and Gozo suggests a concentration of population in Rabat and a rural scatter of smallholdings and hamlets through the rest of the islands, as in Ibiza. No early habitation sites are known, but the cemeteries suggest such a large population that there is perhaps some truth in the statement of Stephanus of Byzantium that Acholla in Tunisia was a colony of Malta.[254]

[248] C 196 (1972), 77–95. [249] C 194. [250] C 197 (1964), 6.

[251] Ghajn Qajjied (C 195), Ghien Is-Sultan (C 197, 1916–17, 4; 1926, 7; 1937, 3–4; 1946, 4), Mtarfa, Ghajn Klieb, Ghien Iz-Zghir, Is-Sandar Lands (C 65, 77–8, figs. 13–4, etc.).

[252] C 198, 493–4; C 201. [253] C 203. [254] C 3, 380.

Certainly the prehistoric population was still alive, but a pale remnant of the Borg en-Nadur phase (1300–1200 B.C.). Though the shrine at Tas Silg was built into the ruins of a long abandoned megalithic temple, there is no evidence that Phoenicians took any interest in the rest of the ruined megalithic shrines in the land. But Late Bronze Age pottery from caves at Ghar Mirdum in Dingli cliffs[255] seems to represent a very late prehistoric population and finds of local pottery in the same tradition have come from Punic tombs in the Rabat area. In fact a prehistoric burial ground was in use on the small plateau of Kallilia overlooking the Wied Qlejgha in the period of Phoenician establishment in the area in the seventh/sixth centuries.

There is no archaic Phoenician ware from Gozo. It too had, in later times, an island capitol at the citadel (Il Castell) of Victoria (Rabat) in the centre of the island. Around it a lot of fourth-century pottery has been found. Gozo had a few distinctive pottery forms, rare even on Malta.

Presumably the Greeks called the island 'Melita' ('Honeyed'), first mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax in the late sixth century,[256] after Malta's Phoenician name. This is unknown, though the Punic legend *Ann* on coins of Malta issued after the Roman occupation in 218 B.C. is perhaps an alternative Phoenician or native name for the island.[257] Gozo's name, *Gaulos*, is the Greek form of the Phoenician *gûl*, a small boat, but has not been preserved in Punic inscriptions.

Malta's western neighbour Pantelleria, 200 km distant, did not enter history until the Romans captured it in the Second Punic War (in 217 B.C.), after which it issued a remarkably widespread coinage with the legend *'Iranim*. The Romans called it Cossura. Pantelleria might have been a more important anchorage than Malta, and is more directly on the route between Carthage and the west Sicilian colonies. There are shelters for small craft on both north and south sides (Cala Scauri and Cala Cinque Denti), but the only decent port is Pantelleria harbour. The ancient acropolis (some walls still stand) was on the southern side of Pantelleria town on the hills of S. Marco and S. Teresa, 1.5 km from the harbour. Almost all the archaic material from it comes from a shrine beside the Bagno dell'Acqua,[258] a thermal pool in the north of the island. It consists mostly of figurines of female votaries, but there is a Corinthian vase. A Middle Corinthian amphoriskos in Palermo museum came from Cavallari's excavations in the Polviera cemetery on the island.[259] But the rest of the material, from various graveyards, is Maltese–Punic,[260] even though the island is closer to both Sicily and Cap Bon.

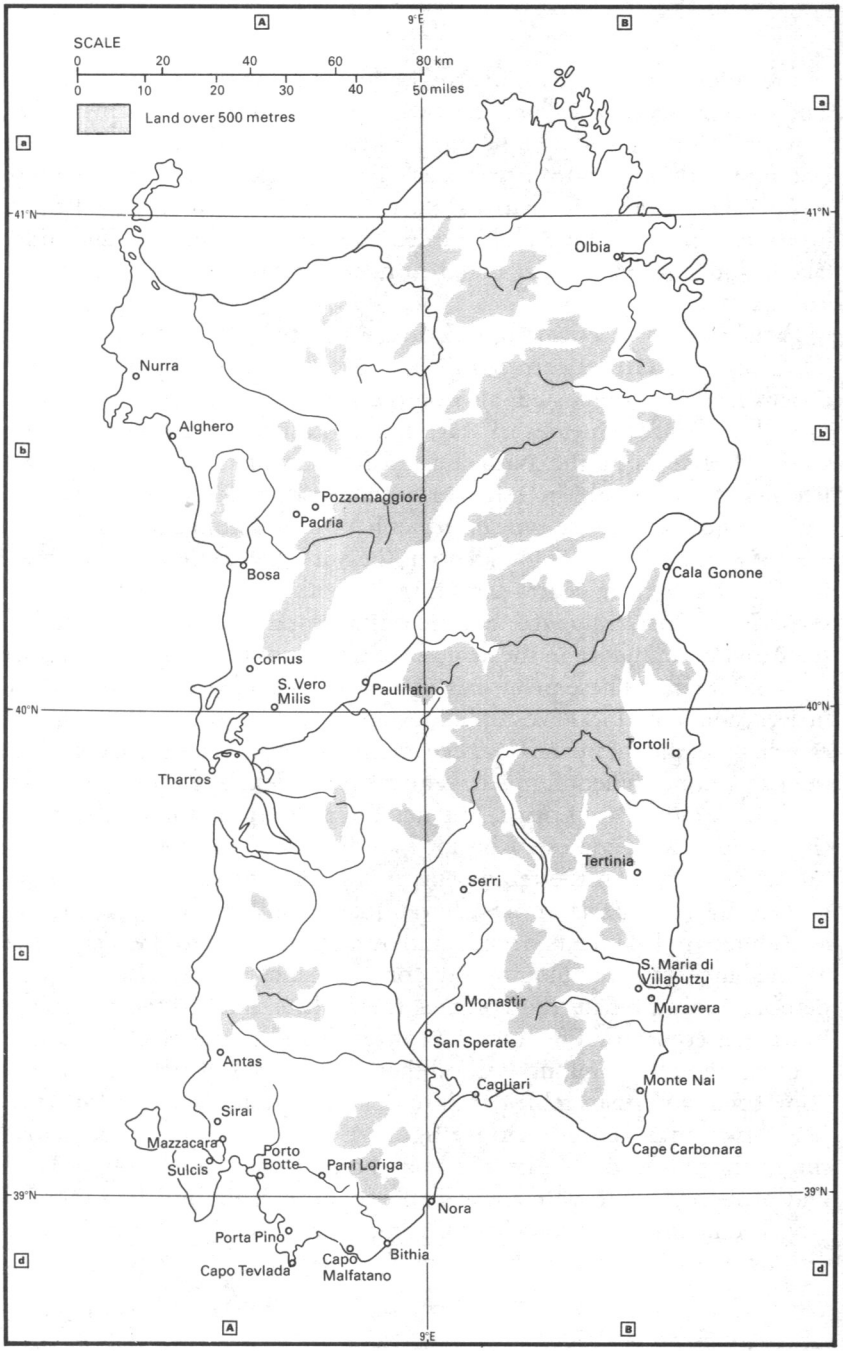
[255] C 197 (1965), 3. [256] C 379, 94, 102. [257] C 202. [258] C 200, 527–33.
[259] C 200, 523–4, figs. 56, 59. [260] C 198; C 204.

5. *Sardinia*

In the colonization of Sardinia the Phoenicians met a unique situation. The Bronze Age dwellers in the megalithic fortified farms called 'nuraghi' had attained a high degree of technology and wealth, were in trading relationship with Etruria, and had perhaps already in the eighth century B.C. begun to form urban clusters round nuraghic nuclei. Bronze figurines represent these early Sards as a fierce people, dour and long-faced, and equipped with metal arms and armour (see *CAH* II³.2, 736–42).

Ever since the discovery of bronze Cypriot-type 'bull's-hide' ingots at Serra Ilixi in south-eastern Sardinia,[261] pre-settlement contact with the Orient has been suggested; also on the grounds that the sophisticated nuraghic bronze figurines of warriors, and especially the armour they sport, derive from the Near East, or are connected with the 'Sea Peoples'.[262] There are no strict grounds for this. Though at least two 'smiting god' Canaanite-type figurines have been found in Sardinia, they are not necessarily pre-colonial, nor is the nuraghic weaponry oriental.[263] Bronze figures from Nurra and Olmeda (both Sassari district) certainly show Phoenician influence, but are not necessarily early; and claims to see Assyrian influence in the armour of figures of the Sardara group are not convincing. These proposals of a Near Eastern derivation take too little account of local west Mediterranean development of weapons, especially as shown by the Corsican menhirs. Some technical exchange in the late second millennium B.C. remains possible. Especially impressive is a bronze from Pani Loriga,[264] a metalliferous area in the south west of the island, which copies a Cypriot Late Bronze Age tripod of the type known at Tiryns in the tenth century B.C. Phoenician bronze objects, such as the thymiateria from S. Vero Milis and S. Vittoria di Serri, as well as architectural elements from inland nuraghic sites, must be discounted as evidence of pre-colonization contact, since in no case do they demonstrably predate the colonies themselves and are mostly late.[265] Nuraghic copies of Phoenician bronzes found at Santa Cristina near Paulilatino and Fluminilongu (Alghero) cannot be dated; the latter, a copy of an Egyptian *sekhmet* figure, could be quite late. On the other hand, two sixth-century bronze figures from Monte Sirai (see below) might show a fusion of Phoenician and nuraghic ideas.[266] Copper, lead, and probably silver were all available in ancient Sardinia and must all have been worked in proto-historic times even though actual evidence of mining is no earlier than that of the Romans.[267]

[261] C 214, 915. [262] C 207, 17. [263] C 214, 918. [264] C 224. [265] C 223, 335.
[266] C 214, 927–30, figs. 11–13. [267] C 219.



Map 10. Phoenician and Punic sites in Sardinia.

All the classical sources on Sardinia's early history are of the first century B.C. and later; and all appear to be part of a rather belated and muddled attempt to put Sardinia on the Greek mythological map. The pretence that the Greeks had founded colonies there (at Olbia and Ogryle) is no more than a Greek guess based on place names. Most attempted to people it in pre-Carthaginian times with one or more of Trojans, Libyans, Iberians, Cadmeians, Lokrians, Heracles, his companion Iolaus and Aristaeus – for example Silius Italicus XII.355–69; Pausanias X.17.1–7, 9; Solinus 1.61; IV.1. The two latter preserve the information that Nora, the oldest city, was founded by Iberians led by a certain Norax, a Tartessian. The finding of two Iberian inscriptions in Sardinia,[268] a similarity in tribal names, and likenesses between Iberian and Sard bronze weapons and figurines have been taken to support some connexion with Spain. It has also been supposed that the Norax story preserves an authentic piece of West Phoenician history. If true, the best that can be deduced is that some Tartessians may have been amongst Nora's founding fathers, for the name itself is local – *nur* is a common toponymic in Sardinia – and there is no need to bring in an eponymous founder. Apart from this episode, what classical authors preserve, including the Ionian-type name for the island, Ikhnoussa, 'The Footprint', probably results from Ionian and Athenian fifth-century commercial interest in Sardinia,[269] Tharros having provided to the local antiquarians the richest crop of Greek vases of any West Phoenician site.

The archaic inscription of the Nora stone is by far the earliest on the island (above, p. 486). Situated on a small promontory in the south-western corner of the Gulf of Cagliari, Nora is the most extensively explored town site in Sardinia. Most surviving remains are fourth-century Hellenistic.[270] The earliest tombs excavated alongside the shore at Nora by P. Nissardi (1871) contained more archaic material than the better-known graveyard excavated by Patroni,[271] but they did not provide pottery older than the late sixth century and have been compared with the Tanit II types at Carthage.

In the south, a settlement was also made before 600 B.C. at Bithia[272] on the eastern side of Cape Spartivento. Ptolemy (III.3.3) knew it as a Roman town and harbour, and although no ancient author mentions its Phoenician origin its name *Bitan* is preserved in a late Punic inscription from the Bes temple.[273] The site suits Phoenician requirements admirably.[274] The main town lay between a small inlet and the Rio di Chia, whilst Su Cardulinu, a small island in the river mouth, was chosen as the site for a tophet. There was a small walled acropolis on the headland of

[268] C 304, 651. [269] C 215, 62–6. [270] C 213. [271] C 230.
[272] C 188, 139–40; C 228 II, 142–7; C 238; C 231, 354–5. [273] C 216.
[274] C 231, 26, 231–4.

Torre di Chia, and between it and the town a temple, excavated in the 1950s, was found to contain a large number of terracotta figurines of the primitive 'snowman' type found on Motya and Ibiza,[275] and a gigantic statue of the Egyptian god Bes. The temple was certainly a late construction and the Bes statue itself, like others found in Sardinia, is of Hellenistic date; but even though nothing is known of earlier buildings, the tophet and burials beneath the Bes temple contained archaic pottery and Etruscan *bucchero* of sixth-century date. Stratum D, the lowest stratum of the necropolis[276] included cremation urns laid in dolmen-like cists; its pottery of the late seventh to mid-sixth centuries again included Etruscan ware and a local copy of an Italo-Geometric jug.[277] The iron weapons frequently buried with the urns suggest a hostile environment. In the upper levels (C–A), continuous to the first century B.C., sarcophagus burial was practised.

Much of the early colonial activity was centred round Sardinia's south west, where the richest mineral deposits occur and where also the nuraghic population was thickest. Here the main colony was Sulcis[278] (an old Sard name; Sulkoi in Pausanias (x.17.9) and *Slk* in an inscription from Antas),[279] on an island connected to the mainland by a long causeway, probably constructed in antiquity. A large bay, the Gulf of Palmas, provides safe anchorage to the north of the causeway and is itself sheltered on the north by the small island of San Pietro. On this at Carloforte was built a sanctuary of Baʿalshamem; an inscription[280] from Cagliari preserves its name – *ʾynṣm*, 'hawk island', the *hierakōn nēsos* recorded by Ptolemy (III.3.8). A smaller and even more sheltered harbour lay to the south, accessible from the northern harbour by a canal through the causeway. In fact no harbour installations have been preserved at Sulcis. Traces of an archaic city wall indicate that the Phoenician town was placed on the high ridge of Cresia hill and the Fortino to the north of the modern town of Sant'Antioco. Large graveyards of chamber tombs flank the Cresia hill and have been found in the modern Via Belvedere.[281] In the rocky area of Guardia'e in Pingiadas (the 'guardian of the urns'), about a kilometre to the north of Cresia, lies the large tophet of votive incineration graves.[282] An inscription on gold leaf from one of these is in seventh-century style,[283] and is the earliest Phoenician inscription found in context in Sardinia. Two 'Greek' ollas,[284] apparently Euboean-inspired Italian copies (*CAH* Pls. to Vol. IV, pl. 271), and a faience flask of 'Camirus' type provide further evidence that this tophet was in use early in the seventh century B.C.[285] Sulcis pottery alone in Sardinia preserves the archaic shapes and the red

[275] C 7, 219–23, figs. 238–41; C 240. [276] C 220. [277] C 212.
[278] C 188, 239–44; C 216, 93–8; C 234. [279] C 209, 23. [280] A 15, no. 64.
[281] C 223, 106–15. [282] C 212. [283] C 208. [284] C 51, 212, fig. 521. [285] C 237.

slip and burnish of homeland Phoenician pottery, though almost all the important pieces come from unrecorded tombs. No archaic buildings are known, but there is important evidence for later sanctuaries in the Fortino area,[286] itself probably the 'high place' of sacrifice for the early Phoenician colony, built upon nuraghic foundations. To judge from its masonry, the Carloforte temple is also archaic.

Phoenician control of the Sulcis hinterland is shown by two important sites, both policing routes from Sulcis to the plain of Cagliari. Monte Sirai,[287] a hill 4 km north west of the modern town of Carbonia, was occupied in the sixth century B.C. and became a shrine and tophet with country houses and rock-cut tombs in the neighbourhood. About 20 km to the south west, on the plain of Pani Loriga near Santadi,[288] a considerable community must have flourished, for here a rich tophet contained scores of cremation burials, some with archaic jewellery and a little late Corinthian pottery.[289] The earliest West Phoenician pottery from both these sites bears a close relation to that of Sulcis itself. In this general area, possibly at Mazzacara, was the town of Poupoulon (Ptolemy III.3.3),[290] Phoenician perhaps.

The entire stretch of the south-western coast, from Sulcis round to Bithia, seems to have invited settlement.[291] The natural harbour at Porto di Malfatano (probably Portus Herculis of the Peutinger Table) bears strong evidence of having been a Phoenician port, and the small Isola di Tuerreda offshore has yielded fourth-century Punic sherds. Inland from Porto di Teulada, at Sant'Isidoro, a definite Punic layer underlies the Roman remains. As yet, the initial date of none of these settlements is known. The fertility of the area is evident from the heavy nuraghic settlement and it appears to have been the part of Sardinia where Phoenicians existed in closest relationship with natives. The only site for which an early date is claimed lies between Porto Pino and Porto Botte on the slopes of Guardia sa Perda Fitta, where sherds of the seventh/sixth centuries B.C. have been noted in association with the type of quadrangular building characteristic of Phoenician 'keeps' throughout Sardinia. There are a number of signs of early port installations in this entire area, all of which await investigation.

The largest settlement in Sardinia was certainly that at Cagliari (Greek Karalis), at least to judge from the wide area of the modern town and its vicinity over which West Phoenician remains have been found.[292] Apart from an urban nub under the acropolis, the Castello of the modern town, much of Phoenician Cagliari was probably made up of hamlets strung around the extensive surrounding salt-water lagoons. Nothing dating before the sixth century has come from either of the two large graveyards

[286] C 225. [287] C 2, 134; C 228. [288] C 228 II, 142–7; III, 162–5.
[289] Unpublished. [290] C 217, 184–6. [291] C 228 II; C 237. [292] C 188, 231–5.

of chamber tombs. S. Avendrace and Tuvixeddu (and especially tombs at Predio Ibba in the former)[293] have provided almost all the earlier material: the tombs at Bonaria are mostly fourth century and later. Certainly some of the Tuvixeddu tombs were wealthy; one at least had frescoes, a rare item in the West,[294] but the contents of these tombs have little of pre-fourth-century date to show for that international ambience expected of a port so admirably placed.[295] In contrast to the prevailing custom of inhumation in the chamber tombs of these graveyards, cremation urns placed in the soil in rows have been found at S. Paolo, between Tuvixeddu and the western lagoon.[296] The precise location of the port (or ports) at Cagliari remains uncertain.[297] Various sites of temples of the Late Punic period are known, for instance in the Piazzo del Carmine,[298] but there is little to show of the ordinary town at any stage.

Cagliari took early steps to control her boundaries and food supply by occupying key points in the plain of the 'campidano', which stretches to the north.[299] For the peopling of this plain colonists were imported from Libya, according to Cicero (*Pro Scauro* 19.42) and Diodorus (IV.82.4). These are important references: they tell how colonization opened a better life to some.

Sardinia's western coast was dominated by the important city of Tharros,[300] one of the wealthiest cities in the entire Phoenician West. Set on a narrow basalt appendix to the marshy alluvial plain of the Sinis peninsula, between the Sardinian sea to the north and the Gulf of Oristano to the south, it was perfectly situated for controlling coastal traffic. Inland traffic went up the valleys of the Tirso and Andio rivers. Across the Campidano of Oristano the city had excellent communication with the metalliferous Iglesias region and Phoenician Sulcis. The peninsula itself was occupied by two nuraghic villages at Muru Mannu and Capo San Marco, where stood the nuraghe of Baboe Cabizzu. Initially the Phoenicians occupied only the southern end of Capo San Marco and constructed a 'rialto' and port, of which underwater installations remain on the eastern side of the cape, south and north of modern Torre Vecchia. Soon the settlement spread onto the eastern and northern slopes of the cape and the adjoining isthmus, where the graveyards and urban remains have been excavated, with the tip of the cape itself providing a natural rocky acropolis for the siting of the temple of Ashtart.[301]

[293] C 2, 128–30; C 236. [294] Unpublished. [295] C 2, 128. [296] C 233, 13.
[297] C 231, 331–4. [298] C 225.
[299] San Sperate (C 209, 29; C 216, 87), Monastir (C 209, 29; C 228, 127–43), Narbolia, and the Cuccuru Nuraxi nuraghe (C 216, 31). [300] C 205; C 216, 102–8; C 219, 250–1; C 232.
[301] C 207.

The most archaic material, from chamber tombs dug into the rocky flanks of the Capo San Marco itself, includes jewellery of almost all known Phoenician types[302] as well as a range of terracotta figures rare in Sardinia (Pls. Vol., pls. 140*a*, 141*b*, 142*a*). The wealth of Tharros is chiefly shown by the rich goldwork found in its tombs, by ivories, and an abundance of amulets and gems. Etruscan *bucchero* pottery, a little Corinthian and some Italo-Corinthian wares, pieces of Etruscan armour and, at a later date, wine amphorae from Rhodes and Marseilles all amply demonstrate Tharros' commercial importance.[303] But there are no earlier imports, and West Phoenician pottery which can reasonably be dated before 600 B.C. is rare. No inscriptions are earlier than the fifth century; thus we would be left in doubt about the date of the city's origin except for material lately come from the lowest level of the tophet. This shrine lay outside the urban area proper and covered about 1,000 m^2. Here the cremation urns were buried partly inside the abandoned nuraghic structures of the Muru Mannu. Though this tophet has been much disturbed by later reconstructions of the fourth century, there is abundant seventh-century West Phoenician pottery in the lowest stratum.[304]

About 20 km up the coast from Tharros lay the Roman regional capital of Cornus at S. Caterina di Pitinnuri.[305] There are old records of the finding of some Punic tombs nearby at Fanne Massa and Furrighesus[306] and a few archaic pieces in museum collections are said to come from the site. But there is nothing definite about its Phoenician past and indeed there are no significant port facilities. From Bosa, further up the coast, comes a fragment of a Phoenician inscription in the archaic script of the Nora stone, giving the name as *Bs'n*.[307] The site would theoretically attract settlement, for a small island, the Isola Rossa, sits in what was once the much wider estuary of the Temo river.[308] But there are no signs of Phoenician remains.

In the rest of north Sardinia Punic influence is limited and late. Olbia in the north east was the natural port for commerce with Italy.[309] Extensive graveyards in the vicinity[310] show its importance in the third/second centuries B.C., with a few burials dating back to the fourth. There is only a handful of earlier pottery (from unknown context)[311] but enough to suggest that Olbia may have had an important place in the scheme of colonization. South of Olbia, Sardinia's eastern coast is virtually harbourless and inhospitable, but at a late stage the Carthaginians garrisoned it, building a chain of forts at Pranu de Monte Nai, S.

[302] C 5, figs. 104–6, 108; C 7, fig. 267. [303] C 221. [304] C 209, 137.
[305] C 216, 84; C 219, 251–4. [306] C 227. [307] C 117, 20. [308] C 188, 254–6.
[309] C 188, 256–7. [310] Fontana Noa, Abba Ona, Joanne Canu: C 222.
[311] C 229, 56, fig. 5.

Maria di Villaputzu, Tertinia, Tortoli, S. Giovanni di Sarala, Dorgali, and others, finishing with one near Cape Carbonara itself, on the south-eastern tip of the island.[312] None of these appears to have been built before the fourth century, and even the evidence for so high a date remains slender. However, 'archaic' Punic sherds are mentioned from the fort built into nuraghic remains at Cala Gonone (Dorgali). A watch against Rome is the obvious explanation; and this is unlikely to have been required on this coast before the Punic wars. The system was not entirely coastal, for a second line of 'forts' further inland is claimed to have stretched from Padria Possomaggiore in the north to Muravera in the south east.

We have no solution to the problem of how Sardinia was colonized, whether from Carthage or the homeland. Sardinia's main Phoenician settlements kept names derived from the pre-Latin Mediterranean substratum;[313] none is demonstrably Semitic. From such evidence as there is, the Phoenicians in Sardinia were a fringe: forts certainly point to a control of the inland, but the cultural impact, though it existed, was not great. Punic cults had a late effect on nuraghic centres like Paulilatino and Terresen di Narcao, the latter particularly impressive with its Punic terracottas and urns of burnt sacrifices;[314] but we can say nothing of how the Phoenician settlements in their sixth/fifth-century heyday affected the native Sards; nothing of how and why their nuraghic culture declined.

6. *The Spanish peninsula*

It was most likely the quest for metals which brought the Phoenicians to Spain. The Greeks had been greatly impressed by the cargo of silver brought back by a Samian explorer, Colaeus, from the kingdom of Arganthonius of Tartessus in about 630 B.C.[315] Strabo (III.2.14) and Pliny amongst others inform us of the later Phoenician monopoly of the Spanish mines. The pyrite lodes which lie in the slates south of the Sierra Morena and north of the Andalusian plain have been an important source of copper in modern times. Besides copper they provide silver, lead, tin, and mercury.[316] Many of the metalliferous sites can be approached through the watershed of the Guadalquivir, or further west by the less hospitable Guadiana. Between these two rivers lie two minor ones, the Odiel and Río Tinto, which converge and flow into the sea in a large estuary at Huelva, the Onuba Aestuaria of Roman times. Both rivers rise in the pyrite deposits themselves and give closest access to

[312] C 209, 24; C 228 IV, 105–21. [313] C 218. [314] C 209, 128.
[315] C 3, 387; C 271; *CAH* III².3, 20, 139, 214. [316] C 29, 112; C 241; C 285.

them: their waters are in fact discoloured by dissolved iron salts and oxides. The Phoenician interest in Iberia's metals was certainly encouraged by the navigability of these rivers. Boats today can still ascend the Guadalquivir some 85 km to Seville, and the Tagus is navigable some 190 km from its mouth; even the Guadiana, the least important of the rivers of the Atlantic shore, is navigable to 50 km inland. Indeed the distribution map of Phoenician bronze and silver jugs[317] and other metal objects found in Spain and Portugal strongly suggests a major thrust of Phoenician interests by way of the Atlantic rivers. Lodes at the head of the Guadalquivir, especially those at Linares,[318] were more economically reached by an overland route from the south-eastern coast of Spain, and it was in this region that in 1906 L. Siret first discovered evidence for the Phoenician mining of a silver lode at Herrerias, 20 km up the Río Almanzora and near the modern lead mines of the Sierra Almagrera.[319] But the finds from the nearby settlement at Villaricos[320] do not predate the sixth century B.C., and although there is now much important evidence for Phoenician settlement about 700 B.C. in the Málaga region, it is only from the Huelva mines that precise evidence of Phoenician mining at the earlier date has come.

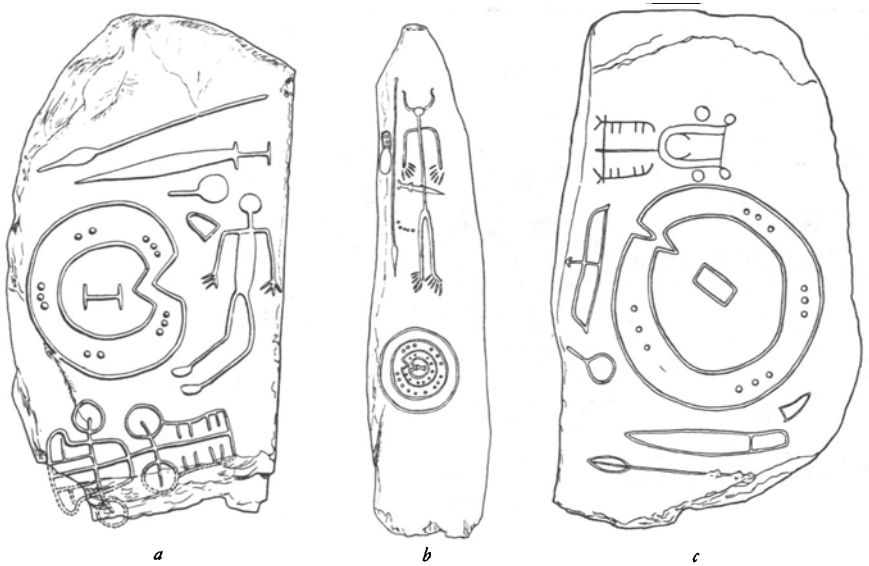
Of silver the Phoenicians in Spain appear to have had a plentiful supply for making silver jugs and other luxury objects, such as an omphalos bowl from Cástulo (Jaén).[321] Furthermore, the early graves at Carthage, Motya, and Tharros have produced small silver ornaments in impressive numbers when compared with grave-goods in contemporary Greece or Palestine; and not only small items, for a silver patera and bowl are recorded from Carthage tombs.[322] In Etruria some of the more impressive silver objects are Phoenician imports or have a Phoenician style about them – all of which leaves no doubt of Phoenician access to a Western source of silver.

But there is a further and most important index of Spain's wealth. Large numbers of stelae (Fig. 25),[323] either carved or engraved with representations of metal objects, have been found in the south and south-western part of the peninsula, the carved ones concentrated in the Algarve province of southern Portugal (exactly the area which has yielded a crop of inscriptions in 'Tartessian' script), the engraved ones concentrated in Cácares and adjoining provinces, together with outliers in the Castelo Branco region of Portugal, and Algarve. There is also a scatter in the Guadalquivir valley.

The importance of this second type lies in the objects depicted – carts and chariots, swords, helmets, spears, combs, mirrors, and, more significantly, fibulae and shields of types known in East Mediterranean

[317] C 273, map 1. [318] C 347. [319] C 347. [320] C 260.
[321] C 268, 58–60, fig. 18. [322] C 142, 444. [323] C 244; C 276, map 323; C 341, 168–71.

Map 11. Phoenician and Punic sites in Spain.



a *b* *c*

Fig. 25. Engraved stelae from (*a*) Logrosan, (*b*) Magacela, (*c*) Torrejón del Rubio. Heights 1.3 m, 1.42 m, and 1.17 m. (After C 244, figs. 2, 24, 26.)

lands in about 750 B.C. Of particular interest are the carvings of a type of shield – the V-nick shield – known from surviving examples from Cyprus.[324] A specifically Irish type of spearhead was found in the Huelva hoard and Irish cauldrons in northern Spain and Pontevedra.[325] But the fibulae, mirrors, and spoke-wheel vehicles on the stelae must derive from the East.

Not only the objects themselves but also the distribution of the stelae bear testimony to the presence of an aristocracy with rich metal resources. There are tin mines in the Logrosan area of Cácares which show signs of having been worked in antiquity,[326] and, since tin resources are rare in the Mediterranean, their wealth may in part have been derived from the working of this necessary ingredient of bronze. However, except perhaps for cist-type burials, more clearly to be associated with the Algarve than the Cácares group, the owners of these stelae cannot be identified with any material culture complex. Though helmets, fibulae, and swords of the sort depicted on the stelae have been found, the stelae themselves are not associated with grave-goods. In short, it is not known how these people relate to 'Tartessus'. Rather than pre-Phoenician immigrants, they appear to be local people in trade with

[324] C 74A, fig. 23, 3; V. Karageorghis, 'Une tombe de guerrier à Palaepaphos', *BCH* 87 (1963) 265–300. [325] C 247; C 276, 294; C 292. [326] C 243, 206; C 273, 49, 393.

the east Mediterranean, perhaps with both Phoenicians and Ionian Greeks. Equally they had contacts with north-west Europe. Quite likely they were the ethnic basis of the Tartessians themselves.

That foreign merchants or metalsmiths were active in southern Spain about 800 B.C. is demonstrated by a hoard of bronze swords and fibulae dredged from the estuary of Huelva.[327] In it was the Irish spearhead mentioned above. Slightly earlier than this hoard is the spectacular treasure discovered at Villena (Alicante province),[328] consisting of gold and silver copies of Late Bronze Age bowls and flasks of the post-Argar cultures of the south-western peninsula. Some iron pieces in the treasure suggest that it was precious and still rare, preceding its use for weapons in Spain in the eighth century B.C. The total absence of Phoenician influence, together with the fact that the gold itself contains tin and is therefore of Galician origin, whilst the techniques are a mixture taken both from northern and south-eastern regions, is ample testimony to the sophistication of local metallurgy. Phoenician influence is also absent from a whole group of goldwork such as the treasure of Bodonal (Badajoz), which links Spain with Ireland through the trade routes of the 'Atlantic Bronze Age'.[329] But the metal trade between Spain and the north, which may have included Cornish tin, was over before Phoenicians demonstrably became actively involved in manufacturing metal objects in Spain, though there remains the possibility that the legendary voyages of Phoenicians to the 'tin islands' (Oestrymnides)[330] in the Atlantic were prospections of the resources used by this established exchange system in about 750 B.C.

Direct Phoenician contact with places in the north Atlantic rests primarily on the text of Festus Avienus' *Ora Maritima*, a romantic geographic work in verse composed in the fourth century A.D. but acknowledgedly based upon a logbook of the Carthaginian Himilco, probably a near contemporary of Hanno[331] in the sixth century B.C. Himilco had visited a promontory or islands called Oestrymnides, perhaps Brittany or Cornwall or islands adjacent, probably as part of a Carthaginian exploration of import routes already well known to the merchants of Tartessus, who may also have obtained tin from the river valleys of Galicia. Strabo (III.5.11) places 'tin islands' (Cassiterides) north west of the Galician coast, at a little distance, but it is likely that in the time of their exploration in the first century B.C. to which he refers, the true location of the areas from which the Tartessians obtained tin was no longer strictly known. Meanwhile Pytheas of Marseilles (in Diodorus V.22), exploring in the fourth century B.C., expressly mentions the mining of tin in Cornwall (Belerium), though in his day it was shipped across to Gaul and passed overland to Marseilles.

[327] C 274. [328] C 345. [329] C 247. [330] C 310, 83. [331] C 312, 95–107.

The discovery of the Spanish peninsula as a source of metals probably came about through contact with local metal-using cultures and not through original prospecting on the part of the Phoenicians. Quite possibly a period of trading in metals preceded direct Phoenician involvement in mining, in turn leading to more extensive settlement. The Cáceres stelae as well as the Huelva hoard imply a pre-Phoenician wealth in metals, but more importantly recent archaeology has shown that in the Huelva region and much of the Guadalquivir basin Phoenician wheel-made pottery is stratigraphically preceded by a new upsurge in hand-made ceramics, producing a new style called '*cerámica a reticula bruñida*',[332] 'pattern-burnished' or 'stroke-burnished' ware, in which network patterns are made, sometimes well indented and differing in colour from the surface of the pot. Whatever its origin – and there is nothing to suggest that it is intrusive – it certainly implies a dramatic rise in the local standard of living before the proper establishment of the Phoenicians.

This pattern-burnished pottery has two main areas of concentration, one centring on the Guadalquivir, the other on the lower Tagus, though stylistic differences exist between the two regions.[333] Its distribution indicates a population more orientated to the coast than the locally evolved Late Bronze Age population moving southwards from the Meseta. Its date is stratigraphically controlled to the period of the tenth–seventh centuries B.C. Both its shape and pattern-burnish technique were evolved in Spain, though not demonstrably in the areas of its later concentration. The burnishing technique possibly derives from pottery of the El Argar culture, though indeed burnishing has recently been shown to have been used in about 2000 B.C. on the little known Early Bronze Age pottery of Andalusia.[334]

An association between pattern-burnished ware and the engraved stelae has not been demonstrated, though there are some suggestive juxtapositions. For instance, a stela engraved with a U-nick shield at Sanlúcar de Mayor (Seville prov.) stands near the pattern-burnished ware site of Torres Alcoaz.[335] The stelae are most common in Extremadura, between the Tagus and the Guadiana, less numerous south of the Guadiana and uncommon in the Guadalquivir basin.

Besides metals there were undoubtedly many perishable resources which drew the Phoenicians to the Spanish peninsula: among these timber deserves special consideration.[336] Not only was timber abundant, but it was accessible for river and sea floatage. Certainly in Roman times the Turdetanian ports were well known for their large ships and naval timbers.[337] Esparto grass, the kinds of which grew on the Alicante coast,

[332] C 274, 13–17, pls. 22–7; C 282, 99; C 281, 599–607; C 337, 8–9; C 341, 168–77; C 349, 104–6.
[333] C 337, 8–9. [334] C 336, 86. [335] C 328. [336] C 314. [337] C 314, 75.

was not an inconsiderable resource for an economy involving much package, wrapping, and ships' dunnage (Livy XXVI.47.9; Pliny XIX. 7–8.26–30).

Tartessus and Tartessian culture The problem as to whether the southern Iberian kingdom of Tartessus was the Biblical Tarshish is much debated.[338] The equation of the name with Tarsus is often suggested.[339] Phoenicians were certainly established in this area in some way, as the Phoenician translation on the Hittite hieroglyphic inscription of Azatiwatas at Karatepe bears witness.[340] But the only extra-Biblical literary reference is in a text of Esarhaddon, who boasts that 'the kings of the middle of the sea, the land of Yaman and the land of Tarsisi' had submitted at his feet.[341] This would certainly have little point if only Tarsus were intended, since the Syro-Cilician region had long been subject to the Assyrians; the 'kings of the middle of the sea', Yaman – and Tarsisi – had not.

In the Bible Tarshish and Tyre have an especially close link. Isaiah (23:1) describes the ships of Tarshish learning of the fall of Tyre as they put into Kittim (Citium) on their return journey.[342] This situation suggests rather ships returning from the west Mediterranean than from Tarsus. However, the name Tarshish, if, as is suggested, it is derived from a function (from *rashashu*, Akkadian 'to be smelted', meaning therefore smelting plant),[343] may well have moved about the map as Phoenician trade explored ever further westwards; at one stage nearby ports like Tarsus may well have been designated, but by the time of Isaiah and Ezekiel something further west is implied. Equally 'ships of Tarshish', meaning simply 'refinery ships', plied many waters, but the text of II Chron. 20:36 in which ships leave ʿAqaba for Tarshish (in the direction therefore of the Arabian Gulf and India) is corrupt and should be corrected by the parallel text in I Kings 22:48.

The reading of *trśś* for Tarshish on the Nora stone from Sardinia, the earliest Phoenician inscription in the West Mediterranean, is not at all certain[344] though widely accepted, mostly as referring to some general region of the West. Basically the problem of Tarshish is not one of locality, but rather of understanding of the geographical notions of the Semites. In the Bible tin and silver feature largely in cargoes from Tarshish, making clear that metal was an important item in its trade. The philological equation of Tarshish and Tartessus is difficult to make, especially if at the root of the Greek word lies the Iberian 'Turta' from

[338] C 350. See *CAH* III².3, 20–1. [339] C 3, 335–6, 339–40; C 21, 286.
[340] C 36, 137–9. [341] A 234, 86 §57, 10f. [342] C 21, 250. [343] C 117, 21–2.
[344] A 15, no. 46.

which the later Greek geographers took the term 'Turdetania' to refer to south-eastern Spain.[345]

Festus Avienus is again our main source for the early history of the kingdom of Tartessus[346] (*Ora* 85; 267–70; *Desc.* 610–17). Unfortunately, like many other Roman authors, he confused Tartessus with Cadiz, though his source, Himilco the Carthaginian explorer, certainly cannot be held responsible for this equation. The earliest reference to it by a historian other than Avienus' source is that of Ephorus (405–340 B.C., in Scymnus 162–8), who places Tartessus two days' sail beyond the Pillars of Hercules and calls it a city and an emporium exporting river-borne tin from 'Celtic parts'. The poet Stesichorus (frag. 4 in Strabo III.2.11) refers to the silver-rooted springs of the river Tartessus, and Pausanias too (VI.19.3), probably using Ephorus, speaks of a Tartessus river debouching into the sea, having two mouths with the city of Tartessus in between them. Avienus' source also knew of an island of Tartessus as well as a bay, a river, and mountain of that name, and although he thought it was Cádiz, and Pausanias identified the Tartessus river with the Betis (Guadalquivir), the largest and best known Spanish river in his time, all in all the conditions described fit the site of Huelva better than any other region, and modern scholarship has relied heavily upon Ephorus' statement about its distance past Cádiz in arguing for this identification.[347] Huelva is situated between the Odiel and Río Tinto, and although not an island, its promontory-like situation might well have been confused for one. Also the island of Saltés in the bay itself, or at least a former island of which the present is a remnant, might also have added to the concept that the Tartessus river had an island in its mouth. No comparable site can be located at the mouth of the Guadalquivir or in the Coto de Doñana where the site of Tartessus has long been sought.[348]

Working the term 'Tartessus' into the present archaeological context in the Spanish peninsula is problematical. Is the term to be equated with the local Late Bronze Age, in which some scholars would see some Oriental inspiration anyway, either in the stelae or pattern-burnished ware or both, though essentially they are autochthonous developments?[349] Or should Tartessus be equated with the mixed material culture engendered from that local base by Phoenician and probably some Ionian influence, and developing eventually a style and dynamic of its own at a time when it first became known to our written sources of information? It seems preferable to adopt the latter sense, especially since present evidence shows that the combination of elements typical of the latter period belonged to a very expansive culture established and

[345] C 3, 190. [346] C 271, 31. [347] C 271, 93; C 304, 252–3.
[348] C 273, 226–32; C 304, 296. [349] C 283, 181–4.

growing in the Guadalquivir valley and Jaen, whereas in Huelva and the Ourique and Tagus regions the Late Bronze Age complex had little posterior development. Furthermore, though standard West Phoenician pottery was both imported and made in the trading colonies Phoenicians established, it soon developed a far-west Mediterranean style, for which the most suitable term is 'Tartessian'.

The local hand-made wares can be sharply distinguished from West Phoenician wheel-made wares and their Tartessian derivatives. A whole group of the former is in the tradition of red-slip ware of the Phoenician homeland, which developed a distinct facies in Spain (*cerámica a barniz rojo*)[350] and which was maintained until about 400 B.C. But especially characteristic of Tartessian style is the use of reserved bands in the slip, often edged with painted black lines and closely set, a style known in Phoenicia and Carthage[351] but rare there. Other Phoenician-derived pottery in Spain is decorated with 'polychrome' horizontal painted bands in red, black, and various purplish browns.[352] This 'Tartessian' Phoenician pottery group has close connexions with that of Rachgoun,[353] Mogador,[354] and nearer sites in Morocco, which may be expected to have had close trade links with Tartessus.

Two further pottery types characterize the Tartessian repertoire – both of unknown inspiration. One is of a light brown fabric with a fussy 'geometric' decoration in brown or dark red paint, finely executed with patterns closely set, often in metopes.[355] It has been found in the Huelva region and in the Late Bronze Age tholos at Nora Vehla in Ourique, but the finest specimens come from El Carambolo[356] and Alcores in the Guadalquivir valley with some from Mesas de Asta (Jerez). The second ware is a grey or black burnished ware (sometimes brown), hard-fired, mostly wheel-made, and largely contemporary with the earliest Phoenician imports.[357] The excavations at Medellín (Badajoz)[358] have shown it to have a heavy concentration there and in Extremadura. Overall the repertoire is distinctive and dull, consisting almost entirely of shallow dishes and plates without decoration; and although this 'grey ware', like *cerámica a barniz rojo*, spread northwards into the Iberian and Greek regions of the north-east peninsula, it has no demonstrable relationship with the 'Phocaean grey ware' of southern colonial France and lacks both its enclosed forms and wavy-line and ribbed decorations.[359]

Quite different and truly Oriental is a polychrome painted ware with

[350] C 242, 207–8; C 273, 286–97, figs. 14–18; C 282, 101; C 281, 553-9; C 327, 122 pls. 49–53.
[351] C 41, figs. 103, 106; C 48, pl. 7, 3; C 93, fig. 48, 6.
[352] C 261, pl. 3; C 264, 174–9; C 278, figs. 111, 193; C 282, 385, figs. 543–4; C 326, 72–3, pls. 1–6.
[353] C 173, 64–5, figs. 20, 22. [354] C 378, fig. 89b.
[355] C 273, 298–305, figs. 28–32, 53. [356] C 283; C 341, 60. [357] C 266; C 282, 96.
[358] C 245, 95–102. [359] C 266; C 359, 153–7.

figurative designs in panels: lotuses, palmettes, and griffins on Andalusian pieces, all straight from Phoenician art. At Medellín, from which most of the pieces come, the style is more local and primitive, though the layout and colours, sometimes faintly reminiscent of Cypriot Bichrome IV–V pottery, are equally of Oriental inspiration, perhaps taken from embroidered fabrics. Its distribution is as yet restricted but gives a new insight into Orientalism in Spain.[360]

To Tartessian culture we can also ascribe certain groups of tumulus burials in which both inhumation and cremation were practised and which are all associated with one or more of the pottery types described above. Whilst these tumuli all have clear trade and cultural connexions with the Phoenician settlements on the coast and belong to a culture heavily influenced by this contact, the mixed burial rite is perhaps as much due to influences coming from Hallstatt Europe as from Phoenicia; and the dead may be Indo-Europeans, not Semites. Although in fact the introduction of iron-working itself may have been due to Phoenician stimuli, the tools and weapons found with the burials are either European or local types. These include socketed spear-heads and pikes of bronze, prong-and-hook belt-clasps,[361] hooked knives, and fibulae of double-spring and annular types.[362] While certainly the double-spring fibulae follow Oriental or Aegean prototypes – one has been found at Ischia –[363] their precise type is local to Spain and southern France, and like the belt-clasps which have no foreign equivalent, must be taken for Tartessian developments.

The Huelva region On the one site where we have direct evidence for Phoenician involvement in silver mining, the bulk of the work appears to have been in native hands. Most of the pottery found in the Cerro Salomón village[364] in the western Sierra Morena is rough hand-made ware of the Late Bronze Age of central Spain, but lamps, tripod bowls, and other vessels of distinctive Phoenician type as well as West Phoenician storage jars suggest that the management was in Phoenician hands. The evidence for smelting[365] comes from the tuyères used for the nozzles of the bellows and from the stone hammers used in working the mine trenches.

Other evidence for silver mining comes from the lower levels of the well stratified site of Cabezo de San Pedro, which dominates the confluence of the rivers Tinto and Odiel within modern Huelva.[366] The sequence established by the most recent excavations is: Phase I, eighth/

[360] C 245; C 250, 42–69; C 335.

[361] C 278, 151–2, figs. 9–13, 269, fig. 69, 278–9, figs. 91–101; C 304, fig. 411. Much remains unpublished. [362] C 278, fig. 96; C 304, fig. 411. [363] C 322, 297.

[364] C 269, nos. 10, 46, 47, 114, 366, pls. 17, 21. [365] C 269, 14. [366] C 274; C 276.

ninth-seventh centuries with pattern-burnished wares predominant: Phase II, 700–625 B.C. with red-slip wares appearing: Phase III, 650–550 B.C. with Tartessian reserve slip and polychrome band prominent.[367] From this site, but unfortunately unstratified, comes a fragment of an Attic Late Geometric I amphora dating from the first half of the eighth century and at present the earliest known Greek object in Spain.[368] Crucibles and slags show that here a local populace using pattern-burnished wares and established in about 900 B.C. was working silver from nearby mines for well over a century before the arrival of the Phoenicians, whose characteristic pottery appears in later levels dating to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Similar evidence has been provided by a sounding made at Cerro de Esperanza,[369] again within Huelva, though here most of the scoriae come from levels containing a considerable amount of West Phoenician pottery, but pattern-burnished and other local wares are present in the lowest levels. A Phoenician graffito on a jar is in letters of the seventh century.[370] But again there is no doubt that the settlement was pre-Phoenician, and much the same pattern emerges from excavations at Aljaraque and La Rabida south west of the city,[371] and on the Río Tinto.[372] At El Palmarón, 2 km north east of Niebla, was found a rich tomb containing a silver brazier and a bronze piriform jug together with iron weapons.[373]

The El Palmarón tomb was the foretaste of the chief evidence for the Oriental impact in Huelva: the twenty tombs explored in the La Joya[374] park area of the city itself. They possibly belonged to the settlement on Cabezo de San Pedro. At La Joya rectangular tombs contained both inhumation and cremation burials (sometimes together), accompanied by jewellery and other exotic luxury items of Phoenician origin or inspiration. These included an incense stand, engraved ivory, a gold mounted amber pendant,[375] a comb, and a flat metal brazier decorated with lotuses and Egyptianizing Hathor heads.[376] Tomb 17 contained fittings for a chariot or cart, including two bronze lion heads which were probably originally attached to the chariot body.[377] In contrast to this finery, a large amount of pottery from the La Joya tombs (apart from a few West Phoenician amphorae) is hand-made and poor, including much late pattern-burnished ware. A few items which can be dated, such as the Rhodian bronze jug from Tomb 5,[378] suggest a date of about 500 B.C. for some of the tombs, but individual burials, including one with a scarab of Psammetichus II, may be almost a century earlier. The foetal position of some of the skeletons as well as the local pottery suggest that the dead

[367] C 275, 156–77. [368] C 295, 55–6. [369] C 276, 330–1. [370] C 297.
[371] C 27. [372] C 292. [373] C 332. [374] C 305; C 306; C 307. [375] C 242, 254.
[376] C 306, 28–30, pls. 16–17. [377] C 273, pl. 149. [378] C 306, 23–8, pls. 13–15.

belonged to the indigenous population, or people of mixed blood, rather than of pure Phoenician stock.

The Málaga coast It is from the coast of the Málaga region that the archaeological evidence for the earliest Phoenician settlement has come. The main sites are the settlements of Toscanos and Alarcón[379] on the west bank of the Río de Velez together with the graveyards of Cerro del Mar at nearby Casa de la Viña on the east bank (early)[380] and Jardín[381] on the west (later); settlements at Morro de Mezquitilla[382] and Chorreras on the eastern side of the Río Algarrobo estuary,[383] together with the necropolis of Trayamar on its west.[384] Since antiquity these two rivers have cut down their beds and no longer have the spreading estuaries on whose bluffs the Phoenicians settled. Morro de Mezquitilla BI/II, the short-lived site of Chorreras and Toscanos I/II were probably founded before 700 B.C., and quite possibly nearer to 800 B.C. At least this is a stratigraphic possibility, the hard evidence of imported datable Greek pottery not extending earlier than 720 B.C.[385]

To this clutch of sites must be linked a somewhat later (seventh-century) one on the western side of Málaga at the mouth of the Rio Guadalhorce,[386] and eastwards some tombs on the shore at Almuñécar in the province of Granada.[387] Also eastwards, at Frigiliana, inland from Nerja, a yard of incineration graves has been explored at Cortijo de las Sombras,[388] belonging to an unknown settlement. Its pottery is of the greatest importance for its external links with Carmona, Rachgoun, and Mogador and fibulae and belt-clasps found with the burials date it quite firmly to the seventh century.

All these sites are characterized by Phoenician red-slip band-painted and plain wares, mostly dishes and plates in large numbers but with a few lamps and 'oil-bottles'[389] of forms current before 600 B.C. Though red-slip jugs and mushroom-mouth flasks are rare, excellent specimens of East Phoenician type were found in one of the four carefully built chamber tombs at Trayamar.[390] From Cerro del Mar at Casa de la Viña, between the mouths of the Velez and Algarrobo rivers, two very archaic vessels[391] of Phoenician red-slip ware are known. Archaic red-slip is also a feature of the well-like tombs in the Cerro de San Cristóbal area of Almuñécar (Granada), whose discovery in 1955 marked a renaissance of study on Phoenician Spain.[392] Though neither well constructed nor wealthy, two Proto-Corinthian cups from Tomb 7 establish a date for them in the first quarter of the seventh century B.C. In this and neighbouring tombs the ashes of the dead were buried in

[379] C 326; C 327. [380] C 344. [381] C 342. [382] C 343.
[383] C 263; C 265; C 323. [384] C 327. [385] C 295, 57; C 325, 91, pl. 24.
[386] C 255; C 256. [387] C 273, pls. 76–85; C 289; C 329. [388] C 257. [389] C 327.
[390] C 327, 122, pls. 48, 49, 51, 53. [391] C 246. [392] C 273, pls. 64–5.

alabaster vessels bearing Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions of pharaohs of the Twenty-second Dynasty, the latest being Takeloth II, who reigned in the mid-ninth century B.C.[393] Certainly the burials are not as early as these pharaohs and in fact no really satisfactory explanation has been given of the occurrence of these and other inscribed alabaster jars in Spain. Similar uninscribed alabaster jars have been found in Carthage tombs, at Motya,[394] and one at Tyre.[395] A further alabaster jar from Almuñécar, not from one of the excavated tombs, bears the name of the Hyksos ruler Apophis,[396] which supports the suggestion that these jars are ancient fake antiques.

The purpose of these closely sited settlements is far from clear.[397] A large building in drafted ashlar masonry at Toscanos appears to have been a storehouse and contained a large proportion of imported ware, as distinct from ware made in local clays from elsewhere on the site. Certainly they may be regarded as distribution and export centres of some kind: the names 'emporia' and 'Faktorei' are applied to them by the excavators. Direct evidence of metal smelting is lacking and their main involvement might thus have been in agricultural produce. It is an old suggestion that either Cerro del Mar or Almuñécar was the Greek Maenace, and the evidence for the participation of Greek traders in this Phoenician venture – plus the subsequent vagueness of Greek geographers as to where Maenace was – may contribute to this suggestion.[398]

At Guadalhorce are the remains of a large rectangular building like that at Toscanos and an abundance of polychrome and red ware, but from the surface from level IV, which dates well after the construction of the major building, come sherds of Attic or East Greek cups which can be plausibly dated to 580–540 B.C. The site has also yielded part of an unstratified SOS amphora, which would place Greek contact back in the seventh century, and fragments of Etruscan *bucchero*, the earliest in Spain. A Phoenician inscription on a dish and an Egyptian scarab of the Saite period also confirm that Guadalhorce was occupied in the seventh century B.C.[399]

The necropolis at Jardín[400] belongs to the sixth-to-fourth centuries B.C., according to carbon-14 dates. Extended burials in cist graves, a scarab of Pedubast and pottery[401] that more resembles that of Tharros and Utica make these tomb groups important, representing a poorly known period of Phoenician activity on the coast. Quite clearly the heyday of the Phoenician Málaga settlements was over by 600 B.C. and only two foundations in the area lived long enough to issue Punic

[393] C 296; C 302, 24–30; C 331. See *CAH* III².1, 558. [394] C 187 IX, pl. 51, 3; C 289, 29. [395] C 48, 83–4, pl. 13. [396] C 302, 39–40. [397] C 136, 59–60. [398] C 304, 523. [399] C 256; C 276, 306–7. [400] C 342. [401] C 302, 54–6; C 318; C 342.

coinages, when the remnants of Phoenician populations were revived by later Carthaginian settlers and by the Carthaginian conquest of Spain under the Barcids in 230 B.C. One of these towns was Sexi, at Almuñécar, the other Adra.[402]

Quite possibly Villaricos at the mouth of the Almanzora river (Almeria) was the easternmost and latest of an important group of sites on the southern coast of Spain centred on Málaga. Close by at Baria and Herrerias the settlers operated silver mines. The excavations there produced abundant material of the fifth century.[403] Further east a group of graves at the site of Sierra del Molar at the mouth of the Segura river in the province of Alicante contained Iberian pottery and some Punic,[404] but the earliest burial urns are difficult to date; a globular aryballos of faience is of a type current in the sixth century and two Attic bell craters are of late fifth-century style, but it would be reasonable to suppose the existence of a Phoenician factory somewhere in this area as a source of supply for the late seventh-century West Phoenician ware reaching Los Soladares further up the Segura.[405] In any case the material from Sierra del Molar appears earlier than the date of the Barcid foundations on this part of the coast, including Carthagena in 230 B.C. Certainly earlier than this is the evidence from the other direction. From Gorham's Cave high in the Rock of Gibraltar come sherds and scarabs left by local residents or chance visitors over a long period.[406] Some of the scarabs appear to be seventh-century types.[407]

The Guadalquivir basin By contrast with the slender agricultural basis of the sites around Huelva, whose economy appears to have been dependent to a large extent on hunting and gathering, the wide valley drained by the Guadalquivir offered opportunities for olive and cereal cultivation.[408] At the same time the river gave access to important mineral deposits in the upper valley of the Guadalimar, at Linares, La Carolina, Viches, and Centenillo in the province of Jaén.

Although nothing is known of it archaeologically, Seville itself had a Tartessian past. Sherds from the Cuesta del Rosario site within the old city certainly show this; but at Carambolo by the Guadalquivir just outside Seville, excavation subsequent to the finding of a treasure of gold jewellery in 1958 has uncovered a *poblado*, whose lowest levels have provided some of the best red-slip Phoenician pottery in Spain, together with much pattern-burnished and polychrome linear wares.[409] Carambolo proves that Phoenicians were plying the Guadal-

[402] C 294. [403] C 260; C 347. [404] C 311, 7–20. [405] C 259.
[406] C 302, 66–73. [407] C 302, 69. [408] C 333. [409] C 281, 330–1.

quivir by 700 B.C., and even before if we accept the eighth-century date for a Phoenician inscription on a bronze figure of Astarte said to come from Carambolo or elsewhere around Seville.[410]

Sixty-five tumulus burials in the region of the Roman town of Carmona near Seville have, since their excavation in the late nineteenth century, been a much-debated source for our knowledge of Phoenician Spain.[411] They are situated on an escarpment overlooking the Guadalquivir river flats. Both inhumations and cremations, single or multiple, were buried under these tumuli, placed either in simple rock-cut trenches or rough stone cists. The cremated bones were often deposited in urns, but it seems likely that some of the mounds had been heaped over the cremation pyres. The pottery recovered represents the full Tartessian range, including grey ware. A silver fibula from Acebuchal tumulus G[412] has analogies in early graves at Carthage[413] and is typologically earlier than a double-spring fibula from Los Alcores. The general dating of the tumuli therefore must lie in the seventh and early sixth centuries. There are pre-Roman strata in Carmona itself[414] which have produced pottery from level IV of the four main types represented in the tumuli – red-slipped, pattern-burnished, polychrome-banded and grey wares.

Bone combs and ivory articles with incised decorations from these tumuli (Pls. Vol., pl. 143)[415] as well as from others at Osuna and Setefilla[416] can be paralleled by pieces in the seventh-century well deposit on the Greek island of Samos,[417] and indeed there is a similar comb from a contemporary tomb at Carthage.[418] These, together with a few other ivories from Carthage and Tharros, are enough to establish the existence of ivory workshops in the West, for similar pieces are unknown in the Levant. But parts of two very large carved openwork ivory cosmetic trays from Carmona tumuli,[419] though typologically derived from Phoenician ivories, have no parallel in style and open the possibility (since ivory is rare at Carthage and combs common in Spain)[420] that the 'West Phoenician' ivory-carving tradition was in fact Tartessian. It is quite clear that the Carmona ivories represent an individual Western tradition. Ivory hand-shaped amulets found with the rest at Carmona are purely West Phoenician,[421] and the decorative dark blue staining on some of the items is unknown in the East.

A further set of tumuli comparable to those at Carmona has been excavated at Setefilla (Seville province).[422] They were erected over either simple earth graves or built rectangular tombs containing both

[410] C 334. [411] C 278. [412] C 278. [413] C 346. [414] C 282, 96–103. [415] C 279. [416] C 261; C 262. [417] C 300. [418] C 4 II, 281, figs. 32–7, pl. 74, 3, 5. [419] C 309. [420] C 299. [421] C 279. [422] C 262; C 264.

inhumations and cremation urns. One of the built tombs (Tomb H) was truly monumental, a chamber over 3 m high in a mound 29 m in diameter, and had been constructed on top of a graveyard of earlier, mostly cremation, graves belonging to local Tartessians in the eighth and seventh centuries. The same kind of burial continued to be placed in the tumulus itself, the whole monument thus providing an important insight into local custom in a period contemporary with Phoenician settlement.[423] There is indeed, in the later burials, a good deal of Tartessian pottery with tall biconical pot-stands in reserve-band ware imitating those found in black-burnished ware at Carambolo, but a round-based 'Palestinian' dipper juglet and some 'thistle-head' vases are in authentic West Phoenician tradition.[424] The culture represented in tumuli A and B has also been found at the nearby site of Mesa de Setefilla.[425] In addition there is pottery with painted floral and figured design (of Medellín–Andalusian type) and thistle-head vases of West Phoenician derivation as at Carmona. The Carmona phenomenon was certainly not an isolated one: two rock-cut tombs at Osuna (south-east Seville province) on the route from Seville to Málaga provided a further ivory comb of Carmona type and an alabaster flask.[426]

It is perfectly clear from these finds that there was intensive Phoenician trade and influence. How precisely it operated and what the proportion of local to intrusive Phoenician settlement was are unknown to us. But much suggests a unified and expansive Tartessian culture. Possibly because the Guadalquivir basin was a semi-detached economic unit it became necessary to defend its major trade routes. Rectangular forts with corner towers at Herrera near Ecija (Seville province),[427] and at Al-Honoz in the valley of the Genil, were built to protect an important route via this river to the upland of Penafler.

There are, of course, other important aspects of Phoenician presence besides mining. At most of the early sites sherds of a certain type of oblique-shouldered baggy amphora, suitable for storage and transport, appear, sometimes slightly before the arrival of other Phoenician artefacts. At Cerro Macareno, for instance, a *Bastetani* site with little evidence of direct Phoenician presence, they occur in quantity.[428] Wheel-made storage jars of this size cannot have been evolved locally but are clearly foreign. We do not know what they contained (they seem more suitable for dried and salted goods than for liquids), but Aristotle (*De mir. ausc.* 135) records that oil was introduced to Iberia by the Phoenicians. The number of Attic SOS amphorae from Phoenician sites in Spain – though again not necessarily for transporting oil –

[423] C 276, 349–54. [424] C 264. [425] C 336, 168. [426] C 261, 113, 119–24, pl. 1.
[427] C 321. [428] C 276, 138.

remind us of the important export market the Phoenicians and Greeks had found in the burgeoning centres of the Spanish Late Bronze Age.

Cádiz The long thin island of Cádiz (Phoenician 'Gadir', The Redoubt), lying opposite the mainland and Guadalete estuary, had two temples at its extremities.[429] The famous temple of Melqart was at the eastern end, where the island was nearest to the mainland. Here fresh water was available in springs later incorporated in the temple itself; and it seems likely that the Phoenician colonists would have initially erected the kind of inscription found at Nora or set up a dedication to Melqart of Tyre. Of the temple itself nothing is known. Representations of it which appear on the Hadrianic coins of Cádiz show a standard classical temple facade, which reveals nothing of the Phoenician building. Late accounts of it show that it duplicated some of the iconography of the temple of Melqart at Tyre.[430] At the western end of the isle was the temple of Cronus (the Latin equivalent of Punic Moloch) and, according to Pomponius Mela (III.6.46), the city itself, now under the modern town.[431]

Of old Phoenician Cádiz nothing is known from archaeology. Two items, a Ptah-like bronze statue with a gold-plated face from under the Cádiz Post Office[432] and an inscribed agate seal of Na^{c}am^{3}el from the Puerta di Tierra cemetery[433] may be early, but cannot be precisely dated. A Proto-Attic jug, an old and chance find in Cádiz and now in Copenhagen, seems to have a good enough history for acceptance as the oldest datable find in Cádiz.[434] Another interesting item, though not early in itself, is an inscribed gold finger ring in Madrid[435] which is dedicated to archaic cults: 'Molech and Ashtart of Agadir'.

Graveyards have been explored along a ridge in an oblique line south of the present city from Punta de la Vaca in the north through Puerta di Tierra to Los Corales beach and Asterillo in the south east of the island.[436] Most of these are rock-cut chamber tombs, though one or two were built and paved. But the Punta de la Vaca tombs are unusual *columbaria*, multiple adjoining slab-built sarcophagi, unknown elsewhere except at Lixus. There are other unusual elements in the Cádiz graveyards: cremation is virtually absent, almost all tombs contained single burials, pottery is scarce, but jewellery is plentiful. Without much pottery dating is difficult, but none of these graveyards came into use before the fifth century B.C.

Textual evidence is quite conclusive on the Gadiran role.[437] The Cádizans were intrepid sailors and explorers according to Strabo

[429] C 276, 451–61; C 304, figs. 216–58. [430] C 303, 100–31. [431] C 41, 262–7; C 276, 452.
[432] C 118, 262–7. [433] C 273, 28. [434] C 295, 57. [435] C 273, 26, pl. 1.
[436] C 276, 455–8. [437] C 276, 453.

(III.1–8), and it was with their help that Eudoxus of Cyzicus set out to circumnavigate Africa in the days of Ptolemy II of Egypt (146–117 B.C.). Even in their small 'horses' (oval boats with horse-head prows), according to Posidonius (in Strabo II.3.4), they fished the coasts of Mauretania as far as the Lixus river; and in Alexandria their ships were known.

Tartessian gold Some important treasures, all chance finds, illustrate Tartessian goldwork: all have a mixture of Phoenician and local Spanish elements.[438] The goldwork from Aliseda (Cáceres) was found together with a jug of thick dark green glass imitating the pear-shaped jugs in metal and bearing a meaningless inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs.[439] The glass is lathe-turned and is similar in technique to glassware from Nimrud. In shape it closely resembles two alabaster jugs from tombs in Nubia which can be dated to the mid-seventh century.[440] This date would also suit the iron sword and grey ware dish found with the treasure. Chief amongst the goldwork are a belt (Pls. Vol., pl. 142*b*) and a hinged diadem, this latter of a type frequently seen on Iberian sculptures of a later date, but, as with the belt, the techniques and motifs used are purely Phoenician and most clearly comparable to early Etruscan work. Another gold joint diadem is the main item found at Sanlúcar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir.[441] Excavations at the site suggest a date no later than 500 B.C. for its original context. The site from which the gold treasure of Carambolo (Seville province) came has been excavated with important results.[442] From level IV, to which the treasure probably belonged, comes a whole series of flaring-mouth jars of the geometric-painted group, which are unlikely to descend beyond 600 B.C. The treasure itself consists of curiously shaped plaques which were strung together to make a collar or belt, certainly in local Iberian fashion, but a pendant with hanging seal-stones is of purely Phoenician type. Other goldwork from Spain, especially from Extremadura, shows a strong Orientalizing current, but spreading northwards with an ever-increasing qualification of southern influence. Important earrings from Madrigalejo[443] (Cácares), from Golegã (Ribatejo), and Utrera (Seville province) show essentially peninsular adaptations of Asiatic types' technological links between Galicia and the south. An important pair from Baião in eastern Portugal[444] are decorated with granulated Phoenician dish-palmettes. Even some of the Galician jewellery, though

[438] C 270; C 290; C 324.
[439] C 7, 254–5, figs. 275, 292–5; C 276, 369–75; C 304, 479–81, figs. 393–406. [440] C 302, 119.
[441] C 242, 128. [442] C 281. [443] C 267, 273. [444] C 273, pl. 104B.

generally held to be no earlier than the fourth century B.C., shows the impact of southern styles on goldwork of an essentially Hallstatt tradition. Most important here are granulated earrings from Buiela (Lugo) and Monsato da Beira.[445]

Phoenicians and Iberians Throughout southern and south-eastern Spain the formation of Tartessian material culture gave an impetus to the Iberians themselves, who built upon it their own distinctive style of pottery and bronzes. In western Andalusia it is difficult to draw the line between the Tartessian and earliest Iberian, or 'Turdetanian' culture, to use the name given by classical authors to the Iberian Turdetani who inhabited this area.[446] At Cabezo de San Pedro, Los Quemados, Cerro Macareno, Carambolo, and Setefilla the change occurs about 600 B.C., and in upper Andalusia at Galera. But in Jaén at Cástulo and elsewhere the Iberian culture seems to grow straight out of a retarded Late Bronze Age with only minor Tartessian influence. In Valencia and Castellón,[447] on the contrary, the Iberian appears suddenly grafted upon local cultures by spreading from Andalusia itself. But even in the extra-Tartessian regions there appear secondary direct Phoenician impulses in the formative 600–550 B.C. period. Possibly the population of the south and south-east coastal regions from Cádiz to Almería, where neither Iberian nor northern urnfield cultures appear to have been strongly established, remained partly of Phoenician extraction, as is implied by the names *bastuloi poenoi* (Ptolemy II.4.9), the Latin *Bastetani*, and the *Libiopoeni* of Avienus (*Ora.* 419–23) and Scymnus (195–98, based on Ephorus).

The impact of Tartessian material on the formation of Iberian culture is clearly seen in southern and eastern Spain. The distinctive Iberian pottery style of the fifth-to-third centuries B.C. seems now to have grown initially out of Tartessian wares.[448] The best stratified sites are Los Quemados (Córdoba) and Los Soladares, near Orihuela (Alicante province), 30 km up the Segura river, where there is an unbroken sequence from Late Bronze Age to a full Iberian horizon, with Tartessian imports in the pre-Iberian level IA–B and copies in the Early Iberian level II.[449] Also important is the 'tell' of Vinarragel, near Castellón at the mouth of the Río de la Vinda in Valencia province.[450] Here the successive levels of Tartessian and Iberian wares are much richer, but it is especially the urn forms with double-cordon handle which make up the continuity. Incineration burials with similar

[445] C 267. [446] C 276, 151–2.
[447] At Los Soladares, Crevillente, and Vinarragel: C 259; C 283, 187; C 319, 20–4; C 330.
[448] C 330. [449] C 259. [450] C 330.

urns placed under small 'dolmens' have been found at Collado de la Cova del Cavall and El Puntalet near Valencia and are the only 'Tartessian' burials in this region.[451]

Although after the middle of the sixth century few exotic objects of Oriental origin are to be found in the later tombs, a type of flat dish with swing-handles, the so called *braserillo*, found in seventh-century tombs in the south (La Joya, Carmona) was still produced, whether by Phoenicians or Iberians.[452] The rim decorations on some of the early examples, as well as the handle attachments in the shape of human hands, show clearly that these were originally Phoenician-made, the handle-bars inspired by Egyptian prototypes; but since nothing similar has been found in the Near East or the Mediterranean, they must be taken for original Tartessian products. Their late survival is assured by the late fifth/early fourth-century Attic vases found with them in graves at Gigarralejo (Alicante) and Mirador de Rolanda (Granada).[453]

It was in sculpture more than in pottery painting that the Iberian native genius drew most from the Phoenicians. Greek influences were certainly present too, for Phoenician domination in south Spain did not close it to Greek influence, as is shown by the number of fine Greek imports, especially the fine black cup from Medellín (Badajoz)[454] and good pieces from Cástulo.[455] The resultant sculptural style was an original creation. At its beginning in the sixth century B.C., the carved slabs from Pozo Moro near Chinchilla (Albacete province) show themes taken straight from Near Eastern art and rather weirdly transcribed.[456] Some archaic lions (particularly that from Nueva Carteia, Córdoba)[457] and the partly preserved figure of a griffin from Redovan[458] illustrate the sixth-century interest in Oriental animals which the Iberians subsequently lost. But it is most clearly in architectural elements that the specific Phoenician theme of 'tied-volutes' survived in Iberian art, giving some late and oblique idea of what Tartessian architecture may have looked like (Fig. 26).[459] The same scroll-like designs are also to be found on the late group of Iberian belt plaques[460] dating from the fourth century. This late 'baroque' Orientalism is best seen in the sculptured reliefs and painted amphorae from the Iberian-built tombs at Túgi (Toya) near Galera[461] and recently discovered at Baza[462] (both Granada province). Attic bell craters from the built Galera tomb show that this important if localized artistic efflorescence took place in the fourth century B.C., though a statue in alabaster representing a goddess enthroned between

[451] C 298, 16–17, fig. 10. [452] C 287. [453] C 254; C 301. [454] C 258, 160–79.
[455] C 258, 160–79. [456] C 248; C 251. [457] C 272, 90–103. [458] C 276, 263, 425.
[459] C 312. [460] C 312, 198–9. [461] C 280. [462] C 276, 251–2.

Fig. 26. Stone capital from Cerro de las Vírgenes (Córdoba). (After C 312, figs. 1–4.)

sphinxes is one of the most archaic Phoenician-looking objects from the West, an antique perhaps (Pls. Vol., pl. 144*a*).[463]

Another important Iberian development contemporary with Phoenician contact was writing.[464] Graffiti on pottery from Carambolo, Córdoba and Setefilla in Andalusia, from Cabezo de San Pedro in Huelva and Medellín in Jaén show that the Tartessian (or 'Bastulo-Turdetan') script was already developing in the early seventh century.[465] Inscribed stelae from Abóbada and sites mentioned above in the Ourique region of Portugal also affirm the use of script by the Tartessians, the first also making an important link between script and the representation of the defunct and his armour. Linked with these are stelae with long inscriptions, often written boustrophedon or in spirals, from Algarve and from Siruela and Almoroqui in Badajoz. The regional differences in the script are relatively minor. If we read into it the consonantal values of later Iberian script (concentrated in the east of the peninsula), its general debt to the Phoenician script is obvious; but it is not direct, for Tartessian is not purely alphabetic but has some syllabic non-Semitic signs. Although it cannot be read with certainty,[466] there are some indications that it belongs to an Indo-European language. Use of writing was probably as much a product of trade and urbanization as it was of contact with literate cultures.

The Atlantic shore Two reasons may be suggested for Phoenician interest in Portugal. Algarve in the south was heavily wooded and the river mouths of the Atlantic coast, particularly that of the Rio Arade at Silves and the Río Sado at Alcácer do Sal were noted for their

[463] C 273, pl. 75. [464] C 249; C 276, 138–40, 216–20. [465] C 351. [466] C 351.

access to excellent timber down to medieval times.[467] The rivers Tagus, Mondego, and Douro were gateways to sources of tin and gold. The Galicians especially were noted goldsmiths in late prehistoric times.

The only direct evidence of Phoenician presence is a fragment of a third-century B.C. Punic inscription said to come from Monforte de Lemos, near Lugo[468] in the north. Late prehistoric tombs in the Algarve region have provided glass beads and gold earrings of Punic type,[469] and beyond Cape St Vincent a cist grave at Gaio (Cape Sines region) contained an important group of jewellery including a collar of gold-embossed plaques in Orientalizing style, large gold earrings of Tartessian–Galician type, and beads of gold, amber, tin, and turquoise.[470] A glass flask from the grave is of fifth- or fourth-century B.C. date. Though an isolated find, the Sines treasure is a valuable demonstration of the coastal movement of Phoenician trade: both its decorative motifs and use of gold granulation are intermediaries between the goldwork of Tartessos and the goldwork of the northern provinces of Portugal.

Further north Phoenicians certainly frequented the Bay of Setubal and the Tagus estuary. At Alcácer do Sal on the Sado a few incineration burials in the Senhor dos Martires graveyard contained archaic Phoenician pottery and a scarab of Psammetichus II.[471] A large but poorly explored necropolis at Cezimbra, a commanding coastal site east of Setúbal, has also yielded West Phoenician pottery.[472] A built tholos tomb at Casal do Meio assigned to the seventh century B.C. contained an ivory comb, bronze tweezers, and a fibula, not Phoenician but certainly exotic.[473] Other evidence of contact comes from two graveyards of small tumulus graves with incinerations in Baixo Alentejo, at Monte de A-Do-Mealha-Nova, and Herdade do Pego,[474] which together with some glass and metal beads contained an Egyptian scarab of Pedubast. Scarabs of Pedubast are also known from Carthage and Jardín (grave 30) and are thought to belong to Pedubast III (about 520 B.C.).[475] Apart from a West Phoenician commercial amphora, the pottery from these graves is local and hand-made. A stone connected with one of the graves bore an inscription, one of the earliest known in Tartessian characters.[476] Here as in Algarve the Phoenician contact appears to have been slight.

To the north important evidence of Phoenician contact has come early this century from Crasto and Santa Olaya, two fortified sites deep in the estuary of the Mondego river.[477] Here the cultural intru-

[467] C 314, 75. [468] C 348. [469] C 293. [470] C 290. [471] C 284; C 286.
[472] C 320. [473] C 349. [474] C 252. [475] C 302, 107. [476] C 252, 191–3.
[477] C 308; C 339.

sion of the refined Phoenician wheel-made pottery upon the local hand-made ceramics is quite clear; and there is much evidence from the well-built rectangular houses for extensive back-yard smelting of copper and iron. Much of the exotic pottery has a relationship to West Phoenician pottery in southern Spain,[478] which would suggest a date as early as the sixth century B.C. for Phoenician contact with this region. A few late Punic pots from Guifoẽs and a hoard of Cádizan and Ibizan coins from Bares, though no earlier than the second century B.C., perhaps follow the route of earlier commerce.[479]

Glass beads with fancy incrustations have been found in great numbers and variety in the castra of Galicia;[480] they have often been given a Phoenician or Carthaginian origin, but until they are studied in detail their dating significance is doubtful. Certainly on present archaeological indications, elaboration of the bead-making industry comes no earlier than the fourth century B.C. at Carthage.

It was, according to Avienus (*Ora* 113–15), the Tartessians who traded for tin with the Oestrymnides by way of the Atlantic. The Oestrymnides cannot be placed, but it is clear that one of the richest metalliferous regions to be reached by Atlantic voyages was Galicia, and clearly also Galician–Tartessian contacts in goldwork are more demonstrable overland by way of Jaén and Extremadura than they are by Andalusia and Granada, which indicates, but does not, of course, prove, that the cultural dispersion came from the south east and not the south west.

7. *The Balearic Islands and the north-west Mediterranean coast*

The extent and nature of Phoenician intercourse with peoples of the shores of the north-west Mediterranean and the Gulf of Lions are matters of controversy. Although two isolated stelae carved with V-nick shields have been found in Aragón and at Montpellier in the south of France,[481] no Phoenician settlements are known north of Villaricos and the few Punic remains from the regions of Valencia and Alicante either date later than the Carthaginian occupation of Spain or are the result of trading stations established in the fourth century B.C. from either Carthage or Ibiza. North of this region, Phoenician presence may chiefly be argued either from the impact of Punic vase shapes on those of local Iron Age Urnfield cultures[482] or from the presence of Phoenician commercial amphorae. In addition there is a scatter of Egyptian scarabs of Naucratite type,[483] and a handful of faience

[478] C 339, 334–44, 508–9, pls. 22–4, 35. [479] C 317, 29–34. [480] C 288, 177–9, 219.
[481] C 362. [482] C 366, 36–56. [483] C 302, 195–203; C 377.

amulets and beads found at sites stretching from Mas de Mussols at the mouth of the Ebro to Montlaurès in Narbonne. Some of these are of types current in the early sixth century B.C. and could just as well have been distributed by Greeks as by Phoenicians. A whole range of ovoid commercial amphorae of Phoenician shape and of a type found in the earliest graves at Ampurias[484] have been found in the lowest levels of many oppida in Languédoc and Provence.[485] Their association with imported Greek and Etruscan ceramics at Mailhac, Bessan, and Mont Garou shows that they were reaching southern France from the first quarter of the sixth century, and continued well into the fifth. At Ampurias their occurrence in the lowest stratum is not necessarily earlier than 550 B.C.[486] Similar (but fewer) such amphorae have been found on the Spanish side, as far south as Saladares, where they are tied to an early-Iberian pottery type evolved from the more southerly proto-Iberian sites such as Cástulo and Quemados. From this, the beginning of this 'Phoenician' trade in the Gulf of Lions has been pushed back to the last quarter of the seventh century and its floruit placed between 625 and 575 B.C.[487] But most of the amphorae are certainly later than this and, although they clearly belong to Phoenician ceramic tradition, their origin is obscure. Even if they are Phoenician, there is no certainty that they indicate direct Phoenician trade, since they occur at most sites together with Greek and Etruscan amphorae, whose numbers are considerably greater.[488] As study of wrecked cargoes of later ships has shown, Punic amphorae were sometimes distributed by Greek and Italian export houses. There is little else in southern France to support a Phoenician presence. A few sherds with linear bichrome decoration from Montlaurès,[489] Bessan, and Pech Maho are again perhaps Tartessian, as are the red-slipped and polychrome-band vases from Coll de Moro (Gandesa)[490] and Maçalió. A small oil bottle from the graveyard of Mas de Mussols (Tortosa)[491] is certainly Phoenician, but probably travelled north from the Málaga coast settlements, where these bottles were well known. Otherwise all that the sites of the lower Ebro have to show for Phoenician contact is a few amphora parts and sherds of polychrome ware.[492]

The origin of certain 'Punic' shapes and fabrics amongst the pottery of the Catalonian urnfields, like that in the necropolis of Agullana, Gerona, is equally elusive. Certainly ollas, jars, and handleless 'thistle'

[484] C 352, 41.
[485] Pech Maho, Mailhac, Montlaurès, Ensérune: C 354, 131–2; C 359, 56–7, 64–6.
[486] C 352, 41–2. [487] C 354, 131–2. [488] C 373, 130–2. [489] C 366, 88, figs. 66–7.
[490] C 372, 162–5. [491] C 368, 248, fig. 1, pl. 1; C 372, fig. 2. [492] C 372, 162–3.

vases are close to West Phoenician shapes,[493] but it is an open question whether they come from direct contact with Punic trade pottery or from migrant West Phoenician potters; or whether by way of the internal selective evolution of the Tartessian shapes taken over by proto-Iberian pottery in south-eastern Spain. Another item which has been associated with the Phoenicians in Catalonia and southern France is the bronze double-spring fibula,[494] whose earliest datable contexts are in the Phoenician or Tartessian centres of southern Spain. Fibulae of this type certainly appear to be later in reaching Catalonia and France, but they cannot be shown to have been invented by Phoenicians or distributed by them.

Ibiza According to Diodorus (v.16.2–3), Ibiza was founded by the Carthaginians 160 years after the foundation of Carthage itself – that is, in 654 B.C. Except for one small group of urns of perhaps slightly earlier date, nothing from the large number of tombs on Ibiza predates 500 B.C.[495] There is no imported archaic Greek pottery, but later Greek wares become abundant in the fifth and through the fourth centuries. It is in this period that the Carthaginian hold on Ibiza was greatly extended and it is doubtful whether Ibiza played a significant colonial role before that time. Quite possibly the Carthaginians established a small colony of traders there in the seventh century, whose remains are entirely lost under the modern town of Ibiza. A suggestion that Ibiza had independent Phoenician connexions is based entirely on the evidence of scarabs (Pls. Vol., pl. 141*c*).[496] It cannot be denied that the range of genuine Egyptian scarabs found there predates that of Carthage and elsewhere and that the range of Egyptianizing items from Ibizan tombs is somewhat different. For some reason, Ibiza had an advanced Egyptomania, but this in itself is not a valuable chronological criterion. Also suggestions that the name itself (Phoenician *'ybsm*, Greek *Εβουσος*) derives from the name of the Egyptian god Bes (who features on its later coinage) have little foundation.[497] The Greek name was Pityoussa, 'island of Pines', and this is probably the doublet of the Phoenician name.

What is most unusual is the evidence from the distribution of the many graveyards in the island for a rural Punic population.[498] In addition to the large scatter of graveyards in the south-west coastal region, of which that of Cala d'Hort is the most important, there are others at Sa Barda in the west and Can Guasch in the very centre of the island. These are not perhaps so wealthy as the graveyards of Tala-

[493] C 366, 47–56, figs. 22–9. [494] C 346. [495] C 374. [496] C 302, 174–5; C 358.
[497] C 302, 127–9. [498] C 276, 472–9.

manca, Puig d'es Molíns, and Puig d'en Valls on the outskirts of the city, but are nevertheless typically Punic. There were also two important sanctuaries: Isla Plana, on a small peninsula east of the town of Ibiza, and the cave sanctuary at Es Cuyram in the north east of the island, which has yielded an ex voto inscription to Astarte and a large number of terracotta representations of her (or her devotees).[499]

The material culture of Ibiza is wholly Punic: absent are the red-slipped and polychrome wares of Tartessian tradition[500] and likewise the later developments of the proto-Iberian wares, which were certainly in part contemporary with Ibiza's growth. Equally rare are the grey wares of the Phocaean Greeks, though some links with the later pottery of Ampurias do exist.[501] Ibiza was a colony in the true sense, a transplanted part of the Carthaginian metropolis, with the Punic cult apparatus of masks, bronze razors, kernoi, the cult of Tanit, and the intense Carthaginian interest in terracotta figurines.[502] In this art the Ibizans excelled and seem to have combined a basically Phoenician art of mould-made terracotta figures with influences from south Italy and Sicily (Fig. 27).[503] What precise purpose these terracotta models served, especially the *grandi busti* in the funerary contexts in which most have been found, is obscure, but some of the figures of women illustrate from the rich ornamentation of their dresses what might have been an important textile industry. Diodorus (v.16) especially noted the quality of wool. Scarcely anything can be said about the rural settlements themselves, since remains of the many well-built houses, also mentioned by Diodorus, have not been recorded. Amongst the graveyards, all of which consist of underground chamber tombs, that of Puig d'es Molíns is the earliest, largest, and richest, but even so, contains nothing earlier than 500 B.C.

Ibiza's early role in the trade of the Mediterranean north west cannot be estimated. Certainly there was a little traffic which seems Ibizan with Phocaean Ampurias on the Catalonian coast[504] and even with Ensérune in the Rhône valley, bringing a few polychrome glass bottles and terracottas.[505] A little Corinthian pottery and two Cypriot Iron Age juglets from Ampurias' earliest graveyard at Purtitxol[506] precede the strengthening of the Phocaean hold on Ampuritan trade[507] but cannot with certainty be attributed to Ibizan traders; nor can a Cypriot commercial amphora found in Menorca,[508] nor the Naucratite scarabs from Can Canyis and Mas de Mussols, nor the Naucratite aryballoi from Ampurias and Ibiza itself.[509] Late in the fifth–fourth

[499] C 357; C 358. [500] C 36. [501] C 364. [502] C 36, 234; C 304, 294–351.
[503] C 360. [504] C 352, 81–2, 242–3, pls. 5, 14; C 364. [505] C 357, 65.
[506] C 365, 201–10. [507] C 368, 251. [508] C 369 1, 31, no. 14, pl. 46.
[509] C 302, 239–40; C 303, 570.

Fig. 27. Terracotta figurine from Ibiza. Height 13 cm. (Ibiza Museum 6.525; after C 360, 42, fig. 2.)

centuries grey monochrome ware of a type apparently evolved from the grey-ware sub-stratum of Iron-Age I in Valencia reached both Ibiza and Majorca.[510] Conversely, a few Ibizan Punic items reached the sites of La Serreta (Alcoy), Alcudia de Elche and El Molar, Alicante.[511]

Brief mention must be made of Formentera (Greek Ophioussa, for it was infested with snakes), the small flat island on Ibiza's south. It had valuable sea-salt deposits and probably for this reason it was visited by Bronze Age people and important to the Arabs. Punic and Massilian pottery has been found at a few minor Formentera sites.[512]

Majorca and Menorca Unlike Ibiza, Majorca, and Menorca were heavily settled by native peoples, who developed in the course of the second millennium their distinctive megalithic culture. Possibly Ibiza was too heavily wooded for the implantation of these agricultural communities, for no trace of their 'talyots', 'taulas' and other megalithic structures has been found on Ibiza, though a little Talyotic pottery has been found there.[513] Certainly these neighbouring prehistoric cultures were

[510] C 252, 279–81. [511] C 367. [512] C 370; C 371, 124–5. [513] C 363.

flourishing at the time of Phoenician colonization.[514] A remarkable Egyptian bronze statuette of Imhotep, the god of healing, has been found in the Talyotic village of D'En Gaumés in southern Menorca.[515] It dates to the sixth–fifth century B.C. and provides both valuable dating evidence and proof that Oriental traders were around. West Phoenician imports to Majorca and Menorca do not antedate 400 B.C., and mostly consist of glass bottles and beads.[516] Whilst these islands had mineral resources of their own, ironwork might have come from Ibiza, which, like Majorca, used double-axes of iron[517] (found in Ibizan tombs). A little Phocaean grey ware reached both islands,[518] as well as some late Iberian painted wares,[519] but neither Greeks nor Iberians seem to have bothered about the Balearics. Italian Campanian pottery is found there in the third century onwards and a considerable amount of late Punic pottery from Trapucó[520] in Menorca dates to the third–second century B.C. In this same period, at Turó de Ses Beies near Calviá in western Majorca, the Carthaginians established a small trading station (to judge from pottery found)[521] – but this was not before Mago the Carthaginian general took possession of the Balearics in the course of the first Punic War in 206 B.C.

8. *Morocco and the Atlantic coast*

West of Oran, nothing significant is known of the early Phoenicians until we reach the Straits. Rusaddir, modern Melilla on the Tres Forcas peninsula, certainly had a Phoenician name and was a neo-Punic station,[522] and a site at Sidi Abdselam del Behar,[523] a little to the east of Tetuan at the mouth of the Rio Martin, may have been a small settlement made in the sixth century from Tartessus. On the Atlantic coast of Morocco only the valleys of the Loukkos and Sebou rivers permitted the Phoenicians that type of penetration and commercial exchange enjoyed in Spain. The Sebou especially gave access to the important fertile inland valley region of the Gharb, where local sedentary tribes practised agriculture.

Early settlement certainly took place in the Tangiers region. Two monumentally built tombs between Cape Spartel and Ras Achakar containing Punic pottery and jewellery[524] are constructed in precise Phoenician style and probably belonged to an early Phoenician settlement. Cultural influence is also amply demonstrated in the megalithic

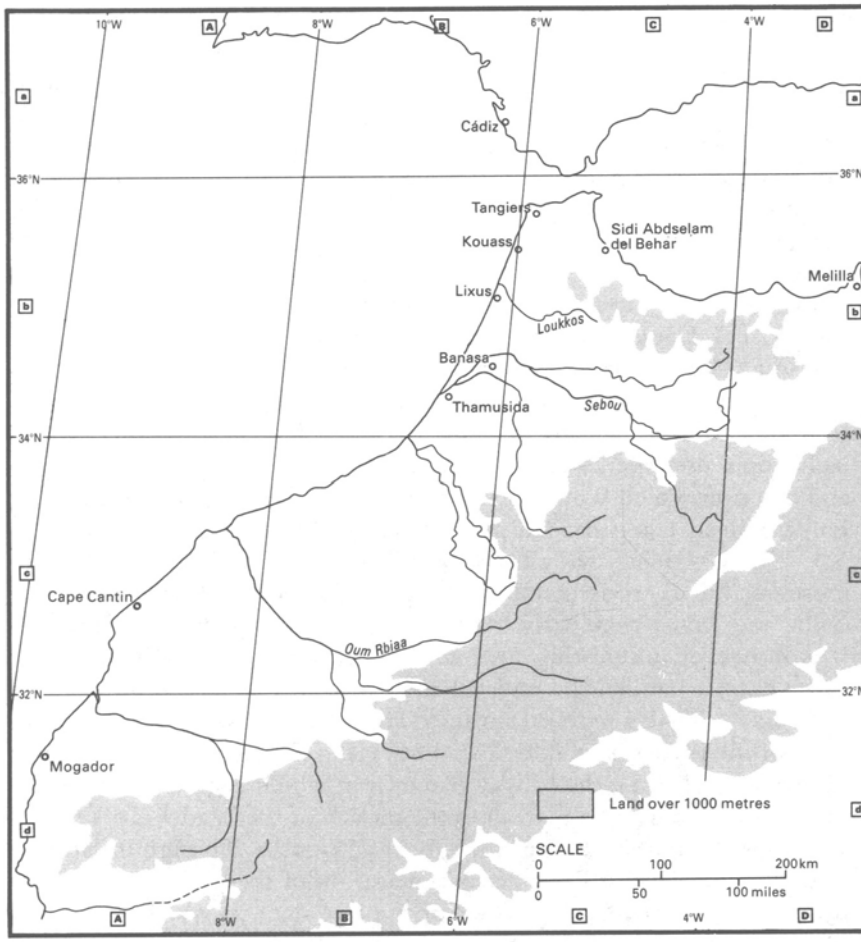
[514] C 371, for chronology, pp. 40–1. [515] C 302, 175–7.
[516] C 359, 69–71; C 368, fig. 6§; C 369 I, 40–2. [517] C 353, fig. 20. [518] C 369 I, 29.
[519] C 369 I, 3204, pls. 47–50. [520] C 369 I, pl. 44; C 369 II, 22–4, pl. 26. [521] C 361.
[522] C 2, 99–100. [523] C 395; C 396, 88–9; C 399, 437. [524] C 384.

cist graves inland and south from the Cape at Ain Dalhia Kebira, Djebila, and Dar Shiro.[525] Pottery in these graves was mostly hand-made, but it selectively copied West Phoenician shapes. The Phoenician jewellery and amulets buried with the dead[526] are archaic and suggest a date in the sixth or late seventh century. To date they furnish the most cogent evidence we possess of the impact of Phoenician civilization on native culture, including the introduction of iron for the making of jewellery and tools.[527]

At the mouth of the river Loukkos the Phoenicians, according to Pliny (XIX.22.63), founded their oldest western city, Lixus (Phoenician Ligs, Greek Loukkos). Its temple, he claims, was founded before that of Cádiz. The ancient site is supposedly beneath modern Larache,[528] on the south bank of the marshy estuary. Sondages beneath the ruins of Roman Lixus on the north bank have produced both polychrome-band and red-slipped wares, together with Attic black-figure pottery, a combination which would place it at least in the early fifth century.[529] Larache itself has provided at least one pre-sixth-century Phoenician pot, a disk-top jug with bright red burnished slip, now in Tetuan museum, but there is certainly no indication to justify the view that Cádiz and Lixus were early 'twin' foundations to guard the Straits.[530] It is, however, interesting to note that a group of *hypogeum* tombs at Lixus exactly parallel the unusual rows of contiguous slab tombs used at Cádiz.[531] That a native Libyan town existed close by on the south bank of the river is stated by Pseudo-Scylax. This is perhaps the Tingis of Strabo (XVII.3.2), the Libyan name from which Ligs was derived.[532]

North of Lixus on a plateau at the mouth of the Wadi Garifa stands an important Punico-Berber settlement at Kouass. Though it dates far later than the earliest Phoenician penetration of these parts, its pottery provides an important reminder of the late date to which Tartessian painted pottery styles survived in north-west Africa. South of Lixus stretches an inhospitable shore, with the mouth of the Sebou river providing the next shelter for ships. Twenty-five kilometres up it the Romans built Thamusida (Sidi Ali ben Ahmed). This was quite possibly the West Phoenician colony of Thymiaterion of Pseudo-Scylax and Hanno (see below). Excavations have uncovered deep levels of Phoenician pottery[533] going back to the seventh century. Another port at Banasa[534] further upstream has levels containing much Tartessian-style polychrome-band pottery as well as some jewellery and graffiti of the sixth century.

[525] C 390, 66–168. [526] C 390, 140–58. [527] C 390, 157. [528] C 41, 246–8.
[529] C 396, 63–73. [530] C 376, 50–1. [531] C 394. [532] C 379, 113.
[533] C 376, 78–9, pl. 39. [534] C 386.



Map 12. Phoenician sites in Morocco.

Two sites further south appear eminently suited for naval stations: Cape Fedala (Fedala-Mohammedia), formerly an island and now built up, and Mogador island a few kilometres off Essaouira.[535] Here excavations have brought up an abundance of Phoenician pottery of both Carthaginian and Tartessian types together with parts of Archaic Ionian (of probably Chiote or Phocaean origin) and Attic SOS amphorae.[536] Phoenician graffiti on pottery fragments give epigraphic

[535] C 383.

[536] C 397, 6–8. For the links with Tartessian pottery see C 2, 104–5; C 302, 31.

confirmation that Mogador was occupied by the Phoenicians in the seventh century B.C. The abrupt cessation of the pottery record shows that it was abandoned in the course of the sixth century.

Whether the Phoenician presence at Mogador island was due to the exploitation of local sea produce (as is perhaps suggested by the establishment of a purple dye industry on the island in later times by the Numidian king Juba II),[537] or whether it was a staging post for trade either inland or further down the African coast cannot be decided. No graveyard has been found there, such as might indicate a permanent settlement, and indeed there are no further certain Phoenician tombs on the rest of the African coast, though claims have been made for many empty *hypogea*, especially those at Tit.[538] The only tomb which is Phoenician in shape is an isolated example at El Hafire, north east of Cape Cantin.

For the rest we must turn to history, although the eighteen-section text of the *Periplus* of 'king' Hanno of Carthage down the west coast of Africa is of highly doubtful value.[539] Even if it stems from an original account written in Punic, the vicissitudes of its transmission to the Greek text of the tenth century A.D. preserved in Heidelberg have much obscured its place names and distances. So unsuccessful have been attempts to reconstruct Hanno's voyage that it has been considered a piece of Greek fiction,[540] or a piece of pseudo-intelligence of West Africa extrapolated from exploration of the Nile and East African regions.[541] Whilst strong arguments can be advanced against both these propositions,[542] there seems little doubt that the Heidelberg manuscript is a combination of two stylistically different documents joined together by material (section 7) taken from Herodotus.[543]

Hanno's voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules was aimed at colonization as well as exploration: he took 30,000 settlers and some livestock. Colonies were founded at Thymiaterion, Karikon Teichos (the 'Carian fort'), Gutta, Akra, Melitte, and Arambus, with the furthest colony at Cerne. The positioning of all these unidentified places depends upon whether the text has preserved the geographic sequence in its original order, for the main group is claimed to have been founded between the Pillars of Hercules and the Lixus river, a distance so short as to appear unlikely if the Lixus is the Loukkos (at Larache) on which the Phoenician town of Lixus stood. Consequently many scholars would identify the Lixus with the Wadi Draa further south, also on the grounds that after Thymiaterion Hanno reached Cape Soloeis, which is claimed to be Cape Cantin (rather than Cape Spartel). These equations accommodate a more southerly voyage, even as far, it

[537] C 378, 88. [538] C 378, 25. [539] C 5, 162–9; C 379, 39–85. [540] C 380.
[541] C 379, 32–85. [542] C 389, 231. [543] C 389, 234.

is claimed, as the Senegal river,[544] the large river Chretes which was the farthest point reached and from the banks of whose estuarine lake Hanno's party was driven by hostile natives (section 9). It is, on the other hand, unlikely that the Lixus is anything but the Loukkos, situated in a region well known in antiquity, remarkable though it is that the city of Lixus itself is not mentioned in the surviving text. Furthermore, the identification of Cerne with Herne island opposite Villa Cisneros on the coast of the Spanish Sahara rests solely on a quite misleading similarity of names.[545] The settlement at Thymiaterion, the Poseidon temple at Cape Soloeis, and particularly Cerne were all known to Scylax 112 (GGM ed. C. Müller). To him Cerne was an island reached by the Phoenician merchants in their round boats, twelve days (600–700 km?) past the Pillars of Hercules. No permanent settlement is implied, since the Phoenicians erected tents for their merchandise, which they ferried by lighters to the opposite coast. The sources of Pseudo-Scylax are difficult to determine but are quite independent of Hanno's *Periplus* and appear to incorporate some sixth-century Greek source material.[546] In Avienus (*Desc.* 328) Cerne rates a brief mention as the furthest known point.

There are also two points of natural history involved. If the 'gorillas' which Hanno captured (section 18) were indeed gorillas, then Hanno must have reached tropical Africa, and the same may be indicated by the odoriferous and diversified forest (tropical rain forest? section 12) which the voyagers encountered. Although neither of these points can plausibly be taken to have come from a Greek source (and especially not one which elaborated the gorilla episode from the story of Perseus and the *gorgades*),[547] they are too imprecise to be clinching evidence.

Despite its drawbacks, we may take Hanno's *Periplus* to reflect a genuine Punic reconnaissance of the West African coast, perhaps about 600 B.C. under the early Magonids, preserved in a text exhibited beside the 'gorilla' skins in the temple of Saturn at Carthage. The foundation of a temple of Poseidon (Melqart) on the wooded headland of Cape Soloeis and the emphasis on prospecting island sites, and even the interest in hostile hairy beasts (as depicted on gems and the Huntsman's Day bowl from Praeneste)[548] are all typical Phoenician concerns.

Of course, the difficulties of reconstructing Hanno's voyage entail more than the difficulties of the text. Many geomorphological changes have taken place on the Atlantic coast since antiquity. Islands, head-

[544] C 5, 169; C 310, 94; C 388, 223. [545] C 379, 20. [546] C 379, 87–120.
[547] C 379, 64. [548] C 5, 180, fig. 55.

lands, and inland lakes, such as Lake Cephesias (between Ras Achakar and Ras el-Kouass),[549] reported on by Polybius on his voyage in about 147 B.C. (Pliny, *N.H.* v.19–10), have either disappeared entirely or been modified; and although these factors render reconstruction futile, since Mogador was reached repeatedly, there is great likelihood that Phoenicians had prospected, but not settled, southwards beyond it. It has been suggested that it was impossible for ancient mariners to sail along the west Saharan coast, and especially to cope with the return journey against prevailing northerly winds and offshore currents.[550] But there is little doubt that the Romans could solve this navigational problem, and, to judge from ships on Punic gravestones, Carthaginians used similar sails.[551] A hoard of fourth-century A.D. Roman coins found at San Pedro (330 km west of Abijan) on the Ivory Coast,[552] though far removed from Hanno's time, demonstrates the attainment of the shores of tropical West Africa. A hoard of Punic coins from Corvo island in the Azores[553] and some Roman amphorae from the Canaries[554] may prove occasional ventures far into Oceanic waters.

In fact no Phoenician settlement is known south of Mogador and, apart from one amphora from Cape Bojador,[555] no evidence of contact has turned up in surveys from Mogador to the Wadi Draa,[556] nor from the Seguiet el-Hamra and Rio de Oro.[557] Herne island itself has nothing but a few miserable remains of native settlement,[558] and the shores of Senegal have no traces of Phoenicians. Thus we remain with the possibility that Mogador was the furthest settled point, and was in fact Cerne,[559] the amphorae being part of the wine trade specifically mentioned in Pseudo-Scylax. In exchange for wine, ivory, and lion and leopard skins the Phoenicians traded perfumed oil and Attic pottery, all specifically mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax, who, furthermore, gives important details of the handsome 'Ethiopians' who took part in this exchange. They were tall horsemen, skilled in use of bow and spear. Easily accessible from Mogador through the Wadi Ksob is the western end of the High Atlas, where numerous rock engravings attributed to the Late Bronze III period attest the existence of chariotry, cavalry, lances, halberds, and bows in the first half of the first millennium.[560] Presumably these engravings (of which there are important examples at Yagour and Azibs N'Ikkis)[561] belonged to pastoral communities (cattle are frequently depicted) who followed a transhumant nomadism. As a bronze halberd and arrowhead from dolmen graves in the Tangiers region show,[562] their metalwork only slightly preceded

[549] C 379, 112–13, map 3. [550] C 387. [551] C 385. [552] Unpublished.
[553] C 5, 178–9; C 310, 138–52. [554] C 375, 14–16. [555] C 381, fig. 8.
[556] C 378, 17–34. [557] C 381, 2. [558] C 381. [559] C 379, 116–19.
[560] C 382, 22–3. [561] C 382. [562] C 390, 50, 58, pl. 13.

Phoenician settlement or more probably overlapped it. The possibility must not be overlooked that Mogador lay opposite a caravan route which operated a trade in food, metals, and luxuries with these mountain folk, who appear to have been an offshoot of the Garamantes (Hdt. IV.183) of Libya, the Fezzan, and the eastern Atlas. It has often been suggested that chariotry and a knowledge of iron was brought to the Garamantes through contact with the Carthaginians in the Gulf of Gabes and the Tunisian Sahel.[563] A further possibility is contact through the western Atlas. Ironworking in Nigeria may have come from Carthage by one or other of these routes.

[563] C 393, 40–2.

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Abbreviations

AAAS *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*
AASF Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AASOR Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Acta ant. Hung. *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*
Acta arch. Hung. *Acta archaeologica Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*
ADAJ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AEA *Archivo Espanõl de Arqueología*
AfK *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*
AfO (Bh.) *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Beiheft)
AIU *Arkheologicheskie Issledovaniya na Ukraine* (Kiev)
AION *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AK *Arkheologiya, Kiev*
AMI *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
Anat. Stud. *Anatolian Studies*
Ann. Serv. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*
An. Or. Analecta Orientalia
AO *Arkheologicheskie Otkritiya*
AOAT (S) Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Sonderreihe)
AOF *Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS American Oriental Series
AP *Arkheologichni Pamiatky, Kiev*
Arch. Anz. *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
Ar. Or. *Archiv Orientální*
AS Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
ASOR American Schools of Oriental Research
AUM Andrews University Monographs
AUSS *Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AV Authorized Version of the Bible
Bagh. Mitt. *Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAM *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine*
BAR *Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BE Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
BIA *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology*, University of London
Bi. Ar. *The Biblical Archaeologist*
BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*
Bi. Mes. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
Bi. Or. *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BMFA *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*
BM Quart. *British Museum Quarterly*
Boll. d'Arte *Bollettino d'Arte*
BRM Babylonian records in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BSA *Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens*
BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*
Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. *Bulletin d'Institut archéologique, Académie bulgare des sciences*
Bull. Inst. fr. Caire *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, Le Caire*
Bull. MB *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
Bull. Soc. Ling. *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*
CAD *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*
CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History*
CBQ *Catholic Bible Quarterly*
CG *Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire*
Chron. d'Eg. *Chronique d'Egypte*
CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
CIWA Rawlinson, H. C. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* I-V. London, 1861–84
CRAI *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CRRA Compte-rendu de la . . . rencontre assyriologique internationale
CSCA *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTN Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
EI *Eretz Israel*
Eos *Commentarii Societatis philologae Polonorum*
ESA *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*
FGrH *Fragmenta der griechischen Historiker*, F. Jacoby, Berlin, 1922–
GM *Göttinger Miszellen, Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion, Göttingen*
HSS Harvard Semitic Series
HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC International Critical Commentary
IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
IFAO Institut français d'archéologie orientale
Ir. Ant. *Iranica Antiqua*
JA *Journal asiatique*
JANES *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JDAI *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Voorasiatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'*
JESHO *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JKF *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*
JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPEK *Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRGZM *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz*
JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities,* Toronto
JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
JTVI *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute*
KB Keilschriftliche Bibliothek
KSIAK *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii, Kiev*
KSIAM *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Arkheologii AN SSSR, Moscow*
KSIIMK *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Istorii Materialnoy Kultury, Moscow*
LAAA *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
LAPO Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
Ling. Balk. *Linguistique balkanique*
L–S–J *Greek–English Lexicon,* H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones, with Supplement, Oxford, 1968
MAOG *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
MAPP *Materialy z Arkheologii Pivnichnoho Prichornomoria,* Odessa
MDAIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*
MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
MDP Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
MEFR *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*
Mém. inst. fr. Caire Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
MIA *Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*
MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
M–L Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. M. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford, 1969
MM *Madrider Mitteilungen*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*
Mon. Ant. *Monumenti Antichi*
MSL *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexicon*
MVAG *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*
Nachr. Göttingen *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
NEB New English Bible

NICOT The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
Not. Scav. *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, annexe to Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome
Num. Chron. *Numismatic Chronicle*
OECT Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OIC Oriental Institute Communications
OIP Oriental Institute Publications
OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or. *Orientalia*
Or. Ant. *Oriens Antiquus*
PAPS *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia*
PBS The University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section
PCPhS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PEF *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*
PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PPS *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*
PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
P–W Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll–Mittelhaus, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1893–
QDAP *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
Rec. Trav. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
Rendic. Acc. Lincei *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*
Rend. Ist. Lombardo *Rendiconti del r. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*
RES Répertoire d'Epigraphie Sémitique
Rev. Arch. *Revue archéologique*
Rev. Arch. Bib. Mus. *Revista de archivos, bibliothecas y museos*
Rev. Bibl. *Revue biblique*
Rev. d'égyptol. *Revue d'égyptologie*
Rev. de Philol. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
RHA *Revue hittite et asianique*
RIDA *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité*
Rom. Mitt. *Römische Mitteilungen. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung*
RSF *Rivista di Studi Fenici*
RSO *Rivista degli Studi orientali*
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
RV Revised Version of the Bible
SA *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*
SAI *Arkheologiya SSSR. Svod Arkheologicheskikh Istochnikov*
SAK *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
SANE Sources from the Ancient Near East
Stud. Etr. *Studi Etruschi*
TAM Tituli Asiae Minoris
TB *Tyndale Bulletin*
TCL Textes cunéiformes du Louvre

TCS Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TIM Texts in the Iraq Museum
UE(T) Ur Excavations (Texts)
UF *Ugarit-Forschungen*
UVB *Vorläufiger Bericht über die . . . Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka*
VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
VDI *Vestnik drevnei istorii*
VSSA *Voprosy Skifo-Sarmatskoy Arkheologii*, ed. D. B. Shelov, Moscow, 1954
VT (Supp.) *Vetus Testamentum* (Supplements)
We. Or. *Die Welt des Orients*
WHJP *World History of the Jewish People*
WTJ *Westminster Theological Journal*
WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YNER Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS (R) Yale Oriental Series (Researches)
ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZAW (Bh.) *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Beiheft)
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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C. PHOENICIA AND THE PHOENICIAN COLONIES

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D. SCYTHIA AND THRACE

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